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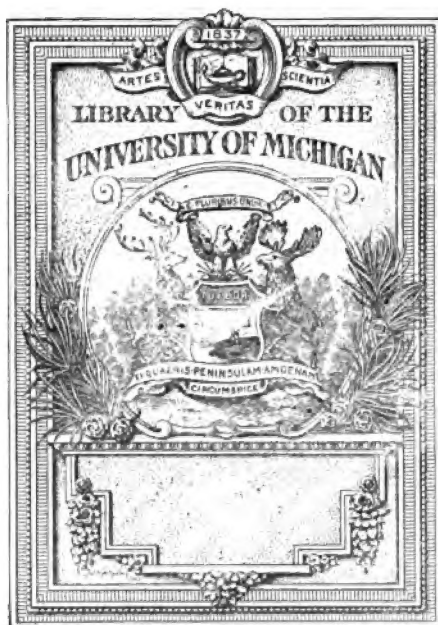
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OHIO

Archæological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS.

Volume XVII.



COLUMBUS:
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OHIO

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LORAMIE AND PICKAWILLANY.

[The following articles concerning the stations, forts and early settlements known respectively as Pickawillany and Loramie were obtained by the Editor of the *Quarterly* from the Rev. William Bigot, now a resident of Dayton. These articles contain much first-hand information relating to the location of the historic points in question. The sketch of Father Bigot — pronounced *Bego* — is by the Editor. For further discussion on this subject, see article on Forts Loramie and Pickawillany by Prof. R. W. McFarland, in Vol. VIII, p. 479 Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Annals — E. O. R.]

Among the earliest white settlements in Ohio of which we have definite record are those known respectively as Pickawillany and Loramie. The origins of these places and their proper distinctive locations are much confused by tradition and the historical accounts. Mr. Henry Howe was one of the first to attempt to give accurate statement concerning these memorable stations, in his first edition of Ohio Historical Collections, published in 1846. He relied mainly upon tradition, which is more likely to be faulty than otherwise. In his second edition (1893) he somewhat revised his former recital. With the purpose of securing, as far as possible, correct data concerning the points in question the Editor of *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* not only visited the respective sites of Pickawillany and Loramie station, but availed himself of interviews and correspondence with the Reverend William Bigot, a Catholic priest, who for thirty years resided at Loramie, now Berlin, and made a thorough study of the origin and history of both Pickawillany and Loramie.

willany and Loramie. Father Bigot deserves more than a passing word. His career is quite unique and worthy of record, for



REV. WILLIAM BIGOT.

he is a man of remarkable experience, scholarly attainments and distinguished achievements. He was born December 4, 1838, near Alkirch, Upper Alsace, which at the time of his birth was a French possession, later and now a German province. By parental decree he was destined for the priesthood. He was fitted for his calling by a period of industrious study extending through some thirteen years, portions of which were spent respectively in a Swiss *Gymnase*; in the college of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost in Bretagne,

Western France; and the Catholic College of Paris. He became proficient not only in the classics and leading modern languages, French, German, Celtic and English, but also acquired profound scholarship in Philosophy, Theology, History, and the Liturgy of his church. He was ordained a priest in 1864 and sent to the Archdiocese of Cologne, Germany, where he was made Director of the Institute for Aged and Invalid priests at Kaiserwerth (*Cæsar's Insula*) near Dusseldorf. When the Franco-Prussian war arose Father Bigot was sent as Military Chaplain to Stuttgart, Ludwigsburg, and other points, having the religious care of over 15,000 French captive soldiers and nearly a thousand wounded and sick. After eight months of severe service among the French prisoners he was made Superior of the Old Monastery at Marienthal in the Archdiocese of Cologne. The Franco-Prussian war over, Father Bigot was designated by both the French Minister of War and the German Minister of War to be chief commissioner of a bureau for the

collecting and tabulating officially the death records of all the French soldiers who died as prisoners of war in Germany. It was a great undertaking. Thousands of circulars of inquiry were sent to all the fortresses and localities, some 260 in number, where the 400,000 of the French soldiers had been quartered, were in action or confined in prison. More than eighteen thousand of these mortuary records were secured. This work was followed, under his direction, by the erection of monuments in all the cemeteries where the fallen French soldiers found their final resting places. For his faithful execution of this great commission the French government bestowed upon Father Bigot the Cross of Chivalry, the badge of the Legion of Honor. By the order of the Culturkamp Law, the Monastery of Marienthal, where he had taken refuge, was suppressed June, 1873. The members of the monastic community were expelled and driven homeless into the world. Father Bigot chose the United States for the home of his remaining life. Hither he came in January, 1874. He offered his services to Archbishop Purcell, then a resident in Cincinnati. The Archbishop gave him warm welcome and assigned him the parish of St. Michael in Loramie, Shelby county, Ohio. Loramie was then a small berg, the settlers of which were almost exclusively immigrants from Germany. It was indeed a typical village of the Fatherland, transplanted to the banks of the little Loramie Creek. Here for thirty years the good Father was the Parish Priest, beloved and respected not only by his own people, but by all with whom he came in contact. Under his untiring efforts, the little modest church edifice was replaced by a magnificent church costing \$60,000, with a beautiful priest residence costing \$10,000. It is a worthy and enduring monument to the zealous work of the Father. In 1890 Rev. Bigot made an extended journey to Europe, visiting his former friends and relatives in France and Germany. He was given audience by the Pope at Rome and celebrated Christmas in Bethlehem. He has written a history of the Parish of Loramie (now Berlin) which is now in process of publication. His devotion to historical research led him to acquire all information possible concerning the old Loramie Fort and Station and its relation to Pickawillany.

Concerning these most historic of Ohio sites, Father Bigot furnished the editor of this *Quarterly* with the following memoranda:

PICKAWILLANY ON THE MIAMI.

The history of Pickawillany is comparatively well known. After the destruction of the stockade and the big Indian village (1752) this post was never rebuilt. All authors agree on this except Knapp (History of Maumee Valley) who says: "The commandant of Vincennes, Ind., tried to establish some business place at Pickawillany, but the place did not possess enterprise or spirit."

PIERRE LORAMIE.

Various vocations are given to Pierre Loramie and various places named whence he came. 1. Howe and Sutton called him: "The first white man in Ohio and French-Canadian trader." 2. Colonel Johnston—"The French Father." 3. Editor C. W. Williamson (History of Auglaize County) called him "The French Jesuit and trader." 4. Professor H. Wildermuth describes him as a "Jesuit priest and missionary." 5. Editor J. O. Amos (*Shelby County Democrat*), Sidney, gives to Loramie the designation of "French Jesuit priest." 6. Various other writers in Shelby county give him the latter title.

In the first edition of his Historical Collections (1846) Henry Howe says: "The first white man, a French-Canadian trader, came to the Indians in Northern Ohio (Shelby county) in 1769, where he established a store and station which was destroyed in 1782." When Howe called Loramie a Canadian trader he accorded to him the fact that he came from Canada (Quebec) by way of Vincennes to his place at Pickawillany stream. In his first edition Howe located Loramie's store and station at Pickawillany on the Miami. But Loramie was not the first white man at Pickawillany, because other white men were there prior to his time. White men were there in 1749. In his second edition (1893) Howe was better instructed and located Loramie's store on Pickawillany stream, 17 miles north of the Pickawillany village, at the same place, where 13 years later, General Anthony Wayne built the Fort Loramie. Howe says:

"The fort was erected at the same place as was the store and station."

Knapp located Loramie's store at Pickawillany village (Miami) and the Fort Loramie at the right place, 17 miles north on the Pickawillany stream. Knapp, like many others, confounded Pickawillany village with Pickawillany stream.

Colonel Johnston says: "The French Father Loramie possessed entire control over the Indians, and was in this respect



D. A. R. Monument erected on the Site of the Last Battle of the French and Indian War, fought 1763 near Old Fort Pickawillany.

fully equal, if not superior, to any of his countrymen. The reason why he possessed the control over the Indians in a higher degree than his countrymen was because he possessed a higher character and not because he was a priest and Jesuit."

Professor Williamson, in his History of Northern Ohio and Auglaize County, and in also his address to the Pioneers of Shelby County at Sidney (1896), says: "Loramie was a Jesuit and trader." To me personally, Williamson said: "As a boy, my grandfather living in Auglaize county, told me many times it

was generally known that Loramie was a Jesuit and priest." The grandfather of Williamson could easily have received this information from people living at the time when Loramie's store and Fort Loramie were still flourishing.

Henry Wildermuth, an able young editor who died of consumption about 1887, wrote some articles in German concerning the life of Loramie as a priest and missionary. He says: "After the Braddock war for the purpose of saving and restoring the Catholic missions among the colonists and the Indians in Illinois and Ohio, the Archbishop Oliver Berand of Quebec, sent three missionaries to his Vicar General Gibault at Vincennes. One of these priests was Pierre Loramie, who was sent back to the Northern Ohio, by way of the Wabash, the Miami and the west branch of Pickawillany, 17 miles north, where he established his store and station." Wildermuth furthermore says he gathered all his knowledge from good English authority and authors. The statement of Wildermuth is in accordance with the Church History of J. G. Shea. In this history it is said: "In the year 1769, Vicar General Gibault of Vincennes and Father Meurin, S. J., of Kaskaskia on the Mississippi, asked the Archbishop of Quebec to send some priests for the purpose of safeguarding the privileges accorded to the Catholics and Indians by the treaty of peace after the Braddock (French and Indian) war at Paris in 1763. The archbishop sent the above mentioned priests, and Loramie was sent to the Wyandottes and the Shawnees in Northern Ohio. Neither the archbishop nor V. G. Gibault nor T. Meurin could have had any idea that all the Jesuit missions would be destroyed and annihilated by the suppression of the Jesuit order by the Pope Clement XIV, in 1773. From that date, therefore, Loramie could not publicly exercise any function as priest or Jesuit. But it is concluded, in my opinion, that Loramie was a Jesuit priest and a trader and that he came from Quebec by way of Vincennes to this place (Loramie)." Editor J. O. Amos in his article on the Centennial of the Village of Loramie gives many proofs which corroborate the above mentioned opinions.

James Furrow, one of the oldest pioneers of Shelby county,

died at the site of Fort Loramie in 1866. He was the first owner of land after the evacuation of the fort in 1812. Furrow was living at the time when Loramie's store was burned in 1782. He told to many people, that in the night, when the store was plundered and burned, a high American officer was killed and buried not far from the ruins of the store. After the evacuation of the

fort by the military post, Furrow purchased there many acres of land for farming purposes. The main building of the fort was torn down and in some of the minor buildings Furrow established a country store and trading post. After Furrow died, the trading post was transferred to the increasing town of Berlin, on the canal, and some time after this post was officially approved as Loramie's Postoffice.

In his last will, Furrow stated he wished to be buried at the side of the American officer on his farm. The fact is, that Furrow, his wife and son are buried there. This graveyard is located to-day on Arkenburg's farm, and is surrounded by a stone wall. The graves of Furrow's family are designated by little stones, but not the grave



Solid silver cross (9 x 6 inches) found among roots of a falling tree where Loramie's Store and Station were located (1769-1782) and Fort Loramie (1794-1812). Supposed to have been lost at time of attack on the post by George Rogers Clark in his expedition of 1782.

of the American officer. Furrow owned the farm from 1812 to 1846.

Jonathan Schell, an old pioneer of Loramie, died at Berlin in 1867, an octogenarian. He was a young man in 1810-1820, and

he told many young people at Loramie that he saw the fort standing and many times (he said), "we were there playing and dancing."

Messrs. Short and Harper, very old people, when I came to Loramie (1874) like Bernhard Pille, Sr. (94 years old), told me that Loramie's store was at the same place as Fort Loramie, and they heard from other old people that Pierre Loramie was a missionary priest.

I have in my possession the silver cross, nine by six inches, found in 1873, at the site of Loramie's store, and some silver coins and fire stones and other evidences of the existence of the store and fort.

By order of the government, General George Rogers Clark, left Cincinnati in the fall of 1782, to punish the Indians in the northern part of Ohio, especially the Wyandottes and Shawnees at Loramie's store. On his way Clark destroyed many big Indian villages and their crops. When he reached Lower Piqua at the Great Miami, he met a peaceful people and no damage was done them. From there he reached Upper Piqua, about a mile north from Lower Piqua. At Upper Piqua, Clark destroyed the terrible Indian fort. This place was widely known as an old Indian fort. Some monuments may be seen there and some relics were found there. Clark did not reach Old Pickawillany, about nine miles northeast from Piqua.

From Upper Piqua Clark with his army was going north through the forest, to the place now called Houston or Jefferson. From there he had to go six miles further north to Loramie's store. He reached this important place in October, 1782. He took the store by surprise, plundering and burning the property.

Some old people have told me the surprise was accomplished by use of whisky. One or two days before the surprise, Clark sent spies with some kegs of whisky to the Indian village near the store, with the assertion that the Indians might rest in quiet, as Clark would not be ready for an attack at that time. In the coming night the Indians became drunken and the surprise was accomplished.

Pierre Loramie escaped that night from the hands of his enemy and took refuge with the Shawnees at Wapacanatre

Some time after the destruction of the store, Loramie made arrangements with Col. Johnston, agent for the Indians, by which he was permitted to emigrate with several hundred Shawnees to the country west of the Mississippi. The country is known today as Wyandotte and Shawnee Reservation. After this first emigration nearly all the Indians in the Loramie locality later followed their dear French father Loramie to the western country. Some years after this Loramie died in the west among his Indians. 2407
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General Harmar left Cincinnati in October, 1792. On the 10th day of October, he reached the ruins of Loramie's store, passed over it and was defeated at all points.

In 1794, General Anthony Wayne and General Scott came with an army from Greenville to the Wabash, where they defeated the Indians and built Fort Recovery. From here he continued north to the big Indian village (Maumee) captured them and built a fort with his own name, Fort Wayne. From Fort Wayne he came to Defiance, St. Mary's and Loramie's store. He admired the mighty ruins and ordered the rebuilding of Fort Loramie. The people in their enthusiasm called from this hour the old Pickawillany stream, Loramie's creek; then came Loramie's Reservoir; Loramie's Postoffice; Loramie's village and Loramie's township; all Loramie's. The place of Loramie's store was held by Wayne as an important strategic point in the war for a provisioning post for the army.

The Fort Loramie built by Wayne in 1794, was occupied as a military post till 1812, when the fort was evacuated and by James Furrow converted into a trading post on the line between Dayton and Piqua, St. Mary's and Fort Wayne.

THE VILLAGE OF LORAMIE.

[This article is by J. O. Amos and appeared in the *Shelby County Democrat* October 12, 1894, in which year Loramie celebrated its centennial anniversary. — EDITOR.]

There lurks around the early history of Loramies some of the most interesting portions of the early history of Ohio. Located away from the rivers, the great highway of travel by early traders and adventurers of this country, much of its early history and traditions can only be gathered together from fragments. The

writer of this article has from time to time given the early history of the place his study, and in what we have gathered together we have been greatly aided by a lecture delivered recently at Loramies by Father William Bigot and the address of Prof. W. C. Williamson before the Shelby County Pioneer Association.

In 1749 a company of about twenty English traders established themselves at Pickawillany for the purpose of forming friendly relations with the Twigtwee Indians and trading in the northwest. This was done the year after Governor Hamilton had formed an alliance and made a treaty with the Twigtwees. In view of the fact that the Indian population in the Miami and Maumee valley were very numerous, this trading station became prosperous and a large population of Indians was drawn around it. The French and English were trying to control the Ohio valley and each looked upon the advance of the other in the valley with a very jealous eye. In 1752 an expedition of French and Indians was sent to drive off the English traders and bring the Indians around the station over to the French. A battle was fought resulting in killing and capturing the English and destroying the station. In 1750 Christopher Gist, an agent of the Ohio Land Company, of which Washington was the head, traveled through the Ohio Valley and visited the Pickawillany station. No successful efforts were made to revive this settlement until after Wayne's victory on the Maumee in 1794, although numerous expeditions were sent against the Indians.

Just where the station of Pickawillany was is a matter of doubt. Sutton's history fixes the place on the Miami river at the entrance of the Loramies creek in Shelby county. He is in error about the county. The mouth of the Loramie is in Miami county. Father Bigot in his lecture says it might have been at Lockington, that when the country was covered with forests, and waters of the streams were at a higher stage and the boats and canoes used for travel could have come up to a point near Lockington. Howe in his late history of Ohio, printed in 1893, says, "it was at Johnston's prairie, one mile south of the mouth of the Loramie." In his history published in 1846, Howe says: "The forks of Loramie creek, in this (Shelby) county, sixteen miles northwest of Sidney, is a place of historic interest. It was the first point of

English settlement in Ohio. As early as 1752, there was a trading house at this place called by the English, Pickawillany, which was attacked by the French and Indians that year; but little is known however of its history" Howe in his new history makes no explanation why he named a different location in his late history than is given in his first history.

Again in his history of 1846, Howe says: "In 1749 it appears that the English built a trading house upon the Great Miami at a spot since called Loramie's store. * * * The fort or



•Village of Loramie (Berlin) as it now appears.

trading house was called by the English Pickawillany." In some of the old journals and reports, Pickawillany is referred to as on the west branch of the Miami river at the point where Fort Loramies was afterwards built. All agree where Loramie's store was located. In the library of Hon. F. Bourguin, of Camden, New Jersey, is an old French atlas, a copy of which we have examined. The title of it is, "Atlas published at Paris, France, Par C. Rouge, Ing'r. Georgraphe da Roe, rue des Grands Augustine, 1777, and corrected by Brig. Gen'l. of the King's army in 1776." This map has upon it *portages*, lines of travel made

by traders, dates of settlements, times forts were erected, etc. There are two routes marked upon it. One, "Route de marchands," or route of traders running east and west, through the Indian towns of "Hockhocken, Delaware, Villa Margaret and Pickawillanees," and on westward. The other a south easterly course, through the last named point to the mouth of the Scioto river, called the "Bampal Route des Marchands," or principal route of of the traders. "Pickawillanees, L. Ohio" is marked "Fort Englois established in 1753." The *portage* is marked from this latter point to the St. Mary's river. A comparison of these lines marking of lines of degrees of latitudes and longitudes on this map with maps of the present day would fix this "Englois" Fort at or near the present location of Loramies. There is an old book called "A Journey From Niagara to Pickawillany" which refers to this place as the same point as Loramie's store.

After the destruction of Pickawillany station, the Indians still remained in possession of the country. It was their best hunting ground and they were loth to give it up. The French Catholic priests, who were the pioneers of the French settlers in Canada and all the northwest were very successful in retaining the friendship of the Indians by personal kindness to them and giving to them such things as they needed. In 1769, Bishop Ryan, of Quebec, authorized his Vicar General, whose name was Father Gibault, and who was established at Kaskaskia to send priests to the Indians on the Miami river. He went to Vincennes, another important French post to do so. On his arrival there he found that Peter Loramie, a *Jesuit priest*, and some others had already gone to convert the Indians on the Miami. They went by way of the Wabash, Ohio river and up the Miami and established their headquarters at what was called, Loramie's store. St. Mary's was made another missionary and trading point shortly afterwards.

Father Bigot says that Loramie and those who first came with him, brought with them at first only such articles as would enable them to gain the love and friendship of the Indians, and that the traders came afterwards and reaped the benefit of the influence exercised by Loramie upon the Indians. It is his opinion that Loramie had a chapel in connection with the store. This is

no doubt correct as Loramie exercised great influence over the Indians.

During the time that the French held Canada and England the colonies, there was great rivalry between the colonies of the two countries as to which should gain control of the Ohio valley. The Indians were jealous of both, but were controlled most by the influences that were most kindly to them. The Jesuit priests, who were zealous for their conversion, usually exercised the greatest influence upon them, hence the Indians were generally the allies of the French. After Canada passed to the control of England, this feeling still existed in the northwest and when the Revolution broke out the English took advantage of it and encouraged the Indians in their hostility to the colonies. They managed to keep up this hostility until after the Greenville treaty in 1795. Under these circumstances the large Indian population in this part of Ohio was very hostile to the advance of the American civilization in the Ohio valley and they had the encouragement of Loramie and the French traders who resided among them.

In 1780, on account of the Indian depredations in Kentucky, General George Rogers Clark marched an army into the Ohio country and fought a battle with the Indians in Clarke county, destroyed their towns and corn crops. In 1782 Clark organized an army in Kentucky of 1,500 men and marched into this country again. A battle was fought with the Indians in the vicinity of Loramies and the Indians were defeated and dispersed. Loramie's store and the mission he is supposed to have organized was broken up. Clark in his journal says "Loramie's store at old Pickawillany stream was destroyed. The property destroyed was of great amount and the provisions surpassed all idea we had of Indian stores." He describes the store as being at the south end of the portage between the head waters of the Miami-of-the-lakes (now the Maumee), and the Miami of the river, or Great Miami. The headwaters of the Miami-of-the-Lakes is the St. Mary's river, and the headwaters of the Great Miami, as involved in the portage, alludes to the "*west branch* of the Big Miami river," or Loramie creek. The Greenville treaty describing the line between the territories ceded by the Indians and

what they reserved has this clause, "thence westerly to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami river running into the Ohio at or near which fork stood Loramie's store and where commences the portage of the Miami of the Ohio and the St. Mary's river." This treaty was made one year after Wayne had rebuilt Fort Loramie, and he evidently knew when he described the portage as commencing at Loramie's store, that supplies had been brought there by boats for his army.

When these facts are all taken together, they lead to an uncertainty as to just where Pickawillany was located. Its exact location is clouded with uncertainty. It would seem that first the French in 1752 and the Americans in 1782 were determined to destroy every evidence of what was there before. The bulk of the evidence, as we have been able to collect it in scraps from different sources, would seem to point out the fact that Pickawillany and Loramie's store were located about the same place. Howe says the destruction of Pickawillany must be considered the real beginning of the French war, that resulted in Canada being ceded to Great Britain. This station was a wooden fort and at times contained as many as fifty traders. Most of them were absent when it was destroyed. It is very evident that Loramie and those who were with him did not remain where they were for thirteen years without building a fort of some kind to prevent surprises. Clark does not mention the fort, but it is fair to presume there was one that was destroyed by him.

Howe says that Loramie with a colony of Shawnees emigrated to the Spanish territories west of the Mississippi and settled at a spot assigned them at the junction of the Kansas and Missouri rivers where the remaining part of the nation at different times joined them. General Clark was a man of great ability and conducted several expeditions against the Indians. He was also chosen as commissioner to make treaties with the Indians, and was several times a member of the Kentucky Legislature. The place was considered of sufficient importance as early as 1749 for the Governor of Canada to send as distinguished an officer as Celoron de Bienville to visit it on his way burying plates announcing the possession of the country by the King of France.

No further effort was made to establish a post here again until 1790, when it was occupied by General Harmar. He here first saw Indians in his march northward and captured three of them. He made no effort to rebuild the fort. There is no evidence that St. Clair visited the place with his army in 1791. In 1794, General Wayne built Fort Loramie. That it was built of timber is evident from the fact that there is no indications of earth works, the outline of which could still be seen had it been



Residence of F. C. Arkenberg on site of Old Fort Loramie—The large stone in foreground marks one of the corners of "Loramie's Store."

an earth work fort instead of being built of logs. Forts built of logs were sufficient protection against such arms as the Indians had.

Fort Loramie stood on the bank of the creek, one-half mile north of the present town and about where the Arkenberg house and farm buildings stand. This is also supposed to be the site of the Loramie store. There are two reasons why this place should be selected by the Indians as a headquarters, the mission-

aries and army officers. First, the large springs of excellent water in the vicinity—a matter of great importance, as the water in the streams and ponds in the unbroken forest was very bad. Second, it was near the fork of the creek and the highest point to which small boats were pushed during high water. A man who would attempt running boats up the Loramie, or even the Miami river now, would be considered crazy, but when the forest was unbroken both streams were used for canoes and light boats for shipping furs out and bringing in articles to trade with the Indians and supplies for the army.

Fort Loramie became a prominent point in the Greenville treaty line. That line extended in a southwesterly direction from Fort Laurens on the upper Muskingum to Fort Loramie where it changed to a northwesterly direction to Fort Recovery. All south of it was credited to the United States by the Greenville treaty. A land section, six miles square at the fort and north of the line became a government reservation. The fort remained in command of Captain Butler for some time after the Greenville treaty. History says his family remained with him while in command at the fort, and one of his children died while at the post. The grave was marked, but during the war of 1812 the fence around it was destroyed. The fort was a military post in the war of 1812, but was only used as a way station when sending forward supplies to the army at Detroit. About the only importance attached to it after 1795, was that it was one of the line of posts from Cincinnati to Fort Wayne, along which government trains and traders made their way until the country became sufficiently settled to furnish accommodation to these civil or military trains. After 1815 it ceased to have any importance as a military post and was used only as a hostelry or tavern. The land passed into the hands of a private owner for farming purposes. James E. Furrow is believed to have been the first purchaser of the land where the fort stood, and the first permanent resident of the place.

It is not known who were the first settlers at Loramies for farming purposes. Those of the earlier date being either traders, hunters or soldiers. Among the first to take up land for farming purposes were James E. Furrow, who settled at Fort

Loramie, Joseph, Christian and Nathan Mendenhall, and William Prillman. James Pilliod came after these early settlers and took up a farm west of Loramies. Isaac Edwards came in the year 1833 and was the first school teacher in the bounds of what was afterward made into McLean township. This was several years after the first settlers came to the township. The first school house stood not far distant from where the boat yard is now located north of Loramies. From John Edwards and Mike Schiltz we gleaned the following facts about the early settlement of the town. The original proprietor of Loramies was William Prillman. It was laid out west of the canal and was a



Relics found on site of Loramie's Store and Fort.

part of Prillman's farm. His brother, Christian Prillman, owned the land on the east side and both their farms were north of the Greenville treaty line. The town plat was surveyed by Hon. Jonathan Counts. The land south of the street passing the Tecklenburg hotel was at that date government lands. The canal was staked off, when the town was laid out, but no work had been done on it. The postoffice was kept by James E. Furrow at the old Fort near where the Arkenberg homestead now stands. Mr. Furrow kept a small store and a little general store was kept by J. M. Pilliod west of Loramies.

The original road cut through the country was made by the army when the campaigns were made against the Indians. These

roads were corduroyed in the worst places by laying logs and poles over them. As soon as settlements began at Piqua, Minster, New Bremen and St. Mary's, these towns were supplied with groceries, clothing and other necessities by wagoners, who made regular trips through from Dayton to Ft. Wayne. That they might assist each other through the swamps the teamsters went in parties of half a dozen or more at a time. When night came on these teamsters stopped with the settlers along the road or camped out. Almost every resident along the road from Piqua to Ft. Wayne was known as a tavern keeper. Returning from the north they carried south furs and other things purchased from the Indians and such produce as the farmers sent to market. As population increased these wagon trains became more numerous and afforded better facilities of reaching the markets with grain, pork and hoop poles, which were the principal articles the farmers had to sell. Taxes were low but had it not been for the hoop poles that were sent to market in these wagon trains many a settler would not have been able to pay his taxes.

The first farmers in the vicinity of Loramies were of English descent. The first German who settled in this vicinity was named Whitebread. He located near where the reservoir bulkhead now is and was called "The Dutchman" by his neighbors. When the town was laid out the lots were sold at auction and sold readily. J. M. Pilliod was the largest purchaser and at one time he was the largest land holder in the neighborhood, owning about four hundred acres. Joseph Mendenhall, who was afterwards a county commissioner, kept a tavern in a log house where John Gaier's new bakery now stands. The old log house was torn down to make room for Gaier's house about two years ago. The first frame house was built as an addition to this tavern by Joseph Mendenhall. Dr. Clark Ayres was the first resident physician and built the first brick house, a small one story residence, on the ground where Stephen Kirner's house now (1894) stands. The nearest mills were Sidney, Piqua and St. Mary's. The town was called Berlin and the name was given to it by J. M. Pilliod and Charles Schiltz, who had come from New Berlin in Stark county. It was named for their former home. The first building erected after the town was layed out was put up by Ishmael

Lattimore and stood south east of the old warehouse. Bernhard Meyer started the first store in the town. He carried his goods at first on his back from Piqua.

(When work was commenced on the canal there was a large immigration of people, most of whom were low Germans and Catholics. Among these were H. H. Dressman, Bernhard Pille, Ignatz Schell and others. Mr. Pille is still living near Loramies. They first came as laborers on the canal, but soon took up land and become permanent settlers.) The first cemetery was the old army cemetery near Fort Loramies. It is not now known just where it was, but is supposed to be adjoining where the Furrow family are buried on the Arkenberg farm. James E. Furrow, who died March 11, 1842, told the old settlers that during the Indian wars a general in the American army was killed at a battle fought at Loramies with the Indians and was buried at what is now the Furrow cemetery. Furrow marked the place where the general was buried and requested to be buried by his side. His request was complied with. The grave of the officer is not marked and neither history nor tradition records who he was. In excavating in a gravel pit one-fourth of a mile further north remains of human bones have been found who some suppose to be soldiers, but it is more probable they are Indian remains of an earlier date as it is known that these forts built by Wayne and other officers were only for temporary purposes and soldiers, who died were buried a short distance from the forts. The Furrow family cemetery is surrounded by a stone wall and this family is supposed to be the first settling near Loramies. An old cemetery was established near the canal on an elevation about one half mile north of the town. Many of the early settlers are buried here, but time is rapidly effacing the evidence that it ever had been a cemetery, and unless some one takes charge and has it enclosed the graves of the early settlers will soon be unknown. The Catholic cemetery near the St. Michael's church was consecrated shortly after the work was commenced on the canal and before any steps were taken to build a church.

(The canal was finished in 1841 and as soon as it was opened the wagon trains, which had done a flourishing business, stopped, and the taverns along the road became simple farm houses. The

first boat to arrive at Berlin was the State boat. It came up on Sunday and stuck in the mud just south of town. It was visited by the whole population of the place and its arrival hailed with great joy. The first packet freight boat that went through was called the Belvedier. It was commanded by Captain Ira Wilder.

As soon as the canal was opened the trade became extensive. Merchants from Cincinnati shipped their dry goods, groceries, salt, hardware and such articles around through the Erie canal, of New York, Lake Erie and down the canal, while they sent north in exchange sugar, grain, pork, whisky, etc. The produce of the country was bought by local dealers and shipped north or south as the best markets demanded it. Hoop poles and cord wood always found a ready market south. Grain was usually sent north. Every town along the canal was a busy place of trade and grew rapidly. Business was prosperous and packet boats numerous.) The railroads have worked a great change in business since.

The Catholic church was organized about the year 1838. The first brick church was built in 1849. It was a plain structure thirty by sixty feet, afterwards an addition of twenty feet was built to it. In 1853 Father August Berger came to Loramies and took charge of the congregation. He remained until 1857. During the time he was there the priest house was built. He was succeeded by Father Nuckerheide, who remained until 1863. He was succeeded by Father Meyer, who remained until 1873, when his health failed and he was succeeded by Father William Bigot, who is the present pastor of the church. When Father Bigot came to Loramies he was told by Archbishop Purcell that he would find enough to do; that besides the regular work as pastor there was need of a new church. The work was commenced and October 21, 1879, the cornerstone for the new church was laid. The day was as hot as midsummer and 2,000 people stood in the sun and witnessed the ceremony of laying the cornerstone. On the 2d day of July, 1881, the church was completed and was consecrated by Bishop Elder in the presence of 3,000 people. It is sixty feet wide and one hundred and sixty-five feet long. It is well finished both inside and outside and one of the finest country

churches in the State. It has a congregation made up of over two hundred families.

From the earliest history of Loramies its population as well as the country around the place have been members of the Catholic church. This is not only the case with the actual settlers for farming purposes, but when under the control of the French at the earliest period of which we are able to gather from traditions and early history of the northwest. As stated before, and we think conclusively proven, Peter Loramie was a Catholic missionary among the Indians at Loramies for thirteen years, and his great influence among them is to be attributed to that fact. Another evidence aside from these given is that in the year 1871 Mathias Utes while making an excavation west of Loramies dug up a solid silver cross about eight inches long that had been lost or buried there. This cross was fashioned after those worn by French and Spanish officers during the eighteenth century. The finding of this cross and the gold cross found near Rhine, as described by a resident of Botkins, together with the scraps of historical facts that we are able to obtain, prove the fact that Loramies and the early French posts in this section of Ohio were Catholic missionary stations among the Indians as well as trading posts.

Loramies has had a very popular hotel for many years. It was formerly called the Vondrelie House. It is now called the Tecklenburg House and is under the management of Henry Tecklenburg.

THE PIONEERS OF WESTERN OHIO.

[An essay read before the Shelby County Pioneer Association at Sidney, Ohio, Sept. 1st, 1894, by Prof. C. W. Williamson.—EDITOR.]

Nearly two hundred years have passed since adventurous white men began to penetrate the wilderness of western Ohio. It was the greatest wilderness west of the Allegheny mountains, and was the ideal hunting grounds of the Indians. Game of nearly every description was found here in greater abundance than in any other section of the Mississippi valley. It is not to be wondered at that the Indians parted with this vast domain with such great reluctance. The forest of that time is not represented by

the few patches of timber, now to be seen at remote distances over the country.

In the year 1680 the French governor of Canada, Count de Frontenac, sent a detachment of men up the Maumee river to establish a trading post. They chose a site just below what is now known as Maumee City and built a small stockade. This was the first point occupied by white men in western and north-western Ohio. About 1698 the same party abandoned the Maumee post and moved further to the northwest and established a trading post at what is now known as Fort Wayne. Between the years 1698 and 1770 French trading posts were established at Vincennes, Loramies, St. Mary's, Wapakoneta, and at points on the Ohio river. The colonists always jealous of the French, also established posts in Ohio and Indiana and along the great rivers of the west. From 1740 until after the American revolution a great rivalry existed between English and French traders each endeavoring to control the trade with the Indians. As a consequence of this rivalry, there were frequent conflicts between the occupants of the different posts. The Indians employed by the contending parties, having no regard for the rights of property or feelings of mercy, frequently robbed the weaker posts and devastated their inmates. In the year 1748 Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, negotiated a treaty with the Twigtwee Indians, who occupied the country to the south of this place, and to preserve the relations established by the treaty, he sent out in the fall of 1750, a company of twenty-five traders who established a trading post at the mouth of Pickawillany creek, a point on the Miami river about eight or nine miles from Sidney. Before the next spring a blockhouse was completed and several stores and dwellings were erected. The traders did a flourishing business until an incident occurred which gave offence to the French. In the fall of 1751 four deserters from some French trading post delivered themselves to the English traders at Pickawillany. The Twigtwees who had suffered much at the hands of the French and their Indian allies, wanted the deserters delivered to them for purpose of revenge. This the traders humanely refused to do, and to save their lives sent them to an English trading post on the Muskingum river, commanded by

Colonel George Croghan. When the French governor of Canada heard that deserters from his service were received and protected at Pickawillany, he became greatly enraged and ordered a detachment under Sieur de Joncaire to proceed to Pickawillany and destroy the post. In May, 1752, he left Detroit and on the twenty-first of June at early dawn reached Pickawillany. An attack immediately commenced and after a spirited resistance the fort was surrendered. In the skirmish fourteen Twigtwees and one trader were killed. At the conclusion of the surrender



Site of Old Fort Pickawillany, where Loramie's stream enters into the Great Miami.

the buildings were all burned and the goods appropriated. The English traders were taken to Canada, but tradition says but few of them reached there. The Twigtwees king, Old Britain, was killed and boiled in a kettle and eaten by the Canadian Indians who accompanied the expedition. At the time of the attack Pickawillany numbered four hundred Indian families. After the defeat of the English traders the Indian village was broken into and the fort was never rebuilt. The French paid no further attention to this location until Peter Loramie, a French Jesuit and

trader came over from Vincennes and established a store on Pickawillany creek about nine miles north of its junction with the Miami river. Loramie was a great hater of the Americans, and his store was, for thirteen years, the headquarters from which expeditions were sent against the pioneers of southern and eastern Ohio. Loramie so endeared himself to the Indians, that he was able to exercise absolute control over them. "I have," says Colonel Johnston, "seen the Indians burst into tears when speaking of the time when their French father had domain over them." Soon after Loramie established his store, other stores were established in what is now Auglaize county. One of them was located on the St. Mary's river, about two miles east of the village of St. Mary's. It was what is called in the west, a dug-out, that is, the apartments occupied by the traders were excavations made in the bank of the river, protected in front and on the sides by pickets. But little is known concerning this post, beyond the fact that it was occupied by French traders. They no doubt left at the time General George Rogers Clark visited Loramie's store. About the same time that the St. Mary's post was established, Francis Deuchouquette and two other Frenchmen established a trading post at Wapakoneta. They built a stockade on the Auglaize river on what is known as the Shafer farm. A spring in the southeast corner of the stockade furnished the inmates with an abundance of good water. This stockade is called Fort Auglaize in some of the earlier histories.

I must recur again to the date of 1782. In that year and for four or five years prior to that date the pioneers of Cincinnati suffered much from the atrocities committed by the Indians sent out from Loramie's store. So noted had the place become in 1782, that General George Rogers Clark marched against the place with a regiment of Kentucky volunteers. The post was taken by surprise and Loramie had barely time to make his escape. The Indian village was destroyed and Loramie's store was plundered and burnt. For a few years afterward the pioneers around Cincinnati were not molested. Seven years after the dispersion of the Indians at Loramie, General Harmar received orders from General Washington to proceed to Cincinnati, and from there to march on the Indian towns adjacent to

the lakes and inflict on them such signal chastisement as should protect the settlements from future depredations. On the thirtieth of September, 1790, he left Cincinnati and on the eleventh of October passed through Pickawillany. The next day they passed the ruins of Loramie's store, taking a northerly direction. He must, therefore, have passed through where the villages of Berlin, Minster, New Bremen and St. Mary's now stand to the Auglaize river and the towns on the Wabash. Har-



First residence of Col. John Johnston, U. S. Indian agent, at Upper Piqua, near mouth of Pickawillany Creek.

mar's campaign was a failure, owing mainly to the incompetency of the commander. The subjugation of the Indians was next intrusted to General Arthur St. Clair, who, with 2,300 men, left Cincinnati on the seventeenth of September, and reached Greenville, Darke county, on the twenty-fourth. On the second of November they left Greenville and on the third of November reached what is now called Fort Recovery. It will not be necessary for me to rehearse the particulars of the terrible battle

that occurred the next morning. Shelby county and Auglaize furnished their full quota of Indians on that occasion. Two hundred Shawnees left Wapakoneta a little after midnight on the fourth and arrived at Recovery while the battle was in progress. Their arrival was announced by hideous yells and cheering which was noted by the soldiers in St. Clair's army. By nine o'clock the defeat was complete. Nine hundred dead and wounded soldiers lay on the field of battle. No prisoners were taken by the Indians. Every prisoner found on the field was tomahawked and scalped. I saw the bones of these dead men at the time I attended the centennial exercises at Fort Recovery in 1891. The cut of the tomahawk and marks of the scalping knife were noticeable on nearly every skull in the large coffins exposed to view in the church. The Indians from around Sidney, Wapakoneta and St. Mary's, the day before the battle, sent all their women and children and old men to a point on the Auglaize river somewhere near Fort Amanda. Among the number was a captive boy, John Bickwell, who afterward stated that on the fifth, the day after the battle, he and a large number of women and men went over to the battlefield to gather plunder. On the road somewhere between St. Mary's and Recovery they found the bodies of three white men who were horribly mutilated. The Indians remarked to him that it was too bad. That it had been done by Indians from Canada, who had eaten portions of them. After they returned to the Auglaize river in the evening an old squaw told him that her arms were so tired from scalping white men that she could hardly raise it to her head. It will not be necessary for me to repeat the remainder of the history of this disastrous defeat. The return of the routed army spread consternation throughout the country. Many people thought it best to relinquish all the country north of the Ohio river to the Indians and make that river the northern boundary of the United States. On the return of the remnant of the army to Cincinnati, General St. Clair was relieved of his command, and was succeeded by General Anthony Wayne. The government decided upon a third campaign against the Indians of the northwest. Wayne was appointed by the government as the one above all others most capable of managing a critical campaign. On the

seventh of October, 1793, he left Cincinnati, and on the twenty-second reached a point six miles north of Port Jefferson, where they erected Fort Greenville and went into winter quarters. The army remained here for nearly a year. The soldiers in the meantime were being drilled preparatory to the great campaign of the next summer. On the sixteenth of July, 1794, he was joined by General Charles Scott, with 1,600 mounted Kentuckians, who on the twenty-eighth commenced the construction of a road to Loramies where they built a bridge and erected a fort. From there

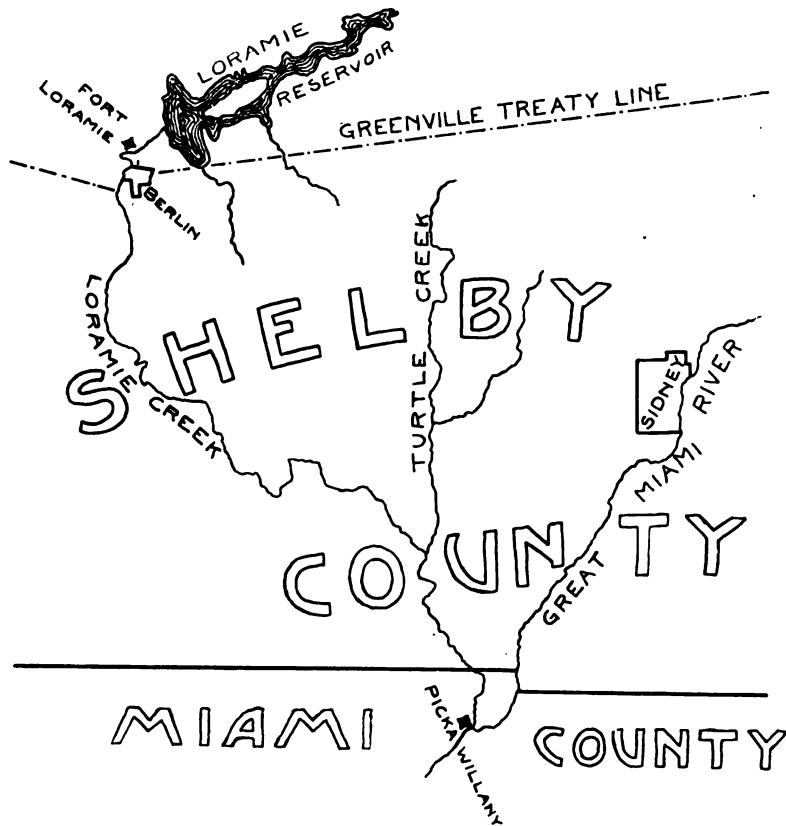


Col. John Johnston's second residence — near Upper Piqua.

they constructed a road on Harmar's trail to St. Mary's and erected a fort and called it Fort St. Mary's. After its completion General Scott marched to Fort Recovery and joined General Wayne on his way to Defiance. It would be a waste of time for me to give the details of that campaign, knowing that it is related in many histories.

From Defiance, Wayne marched down the Maumee, fought the battle of the Fallen Timbers, gaining a victory that forever settled the Indian controversy concerning the northwest. The

horde of savages who had assumed to dictate terms to the American nation, abandoned themselves to flight. They were compelled to sue for peace on the conquerors' own terms. Negotiations with the Indians commenced in the winter and continued until August 3, 1795, when the red men came to a permanent peace



Locations of Forts Loramie and Pickawillany on Loramie Creek, known as Pickawillany Creek till about 1794.

with the Thirteen Fires. The treaty sent a thrill of relief through the country. The treaty ceding to the Union two-thirds of the present state, guaranteed the safety of all settlers who respected the Indian's rights and set in motion once more the machinery of immigration. When it became known that a treaty was

about to be made, people with anxious faces from Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio, began to assemble at Greenville. The word had gone out that the white captives among the Indians were to be brought in. They were there to meet the lost ones.

During the war everything had been at a standstill. At the return of peace the settlements broke into cheerful activity and new schemes of peaceful invasion were set on foot. Within three weeks after Wayne's treaty General Jonathan Dayton and others marked off the town of Dayton. Cincinnati at the time of St. Clair's defeat had but thirty log cabins. Four years later it had a hundred and thirty, and over five hundred inhabitants. At each succeeding month the tide of immigration become stronger. Settlements were commenced at Hamilton, Greenville, Piqua and Sidney. These conditions of peace and prosperity continued until the breaking out of the second war of the revolution; commonly called the war of 1812. The pioneers of southern Ohio were not so much affected by the war, as were those who were located at points along the lake. During the time of the war the armies formed a barrier between the pioneers of southern Ohio and the troublesome Indians of northern and northwestern Ohio. Three more years of war again brought peace to the pioneer state of the west. The armies of Wayne, Scott and Harrison were composed of men who were looking for homes. They were fascinated with the beauty of the scenery and the fertility of the soil in the Miami and Maumee valleys. Large numbers of them made immediate preparation upon their return home to immigrate to the valleys of Ohio. Covered wagons from the east and the south were to be seen every hour of the day traveling along the great army roads leading to the north. Flat boats could be seen every hour of the day coming down the Ohio river and landing at Marietta, Cincinnati and other towns lower down the river. My paternal grandfather, who was a civil engineer, came down the Ohio river and settled at Marietta.

RIVALRY BETWEEN EARLY OHIO AND KENTUCKY SETTLERS.

[The following article, by a well-known historical writer, recently appeared in one of the daily prints. It throws an interesting side-light upon the early settlements on the Ohio. — EDITOR.]

The very first road that was laid out by engineers to lead to Cincinnati was referred to in the following advertisement in an issue of the *Kentucky Gazette*, published at Lexington and edited by John Bradford, dated September 6, 1788; three months before actual settlement here:

"NOTICE — The subscribers, being proprietors of a tract of land opposite the mouth of the Licking River on the northwest side of the Ohio, have determined to lay off a town upon that excellent situation. The local and natural advantages speak its future prosperity, being equal if not superior to any on the bank of the Ohio between the Miamis. The in-lots to be each a half an acre, the out-lots to be four acres, 30 of each to be given to settlers upon paying \$1.50 for the survey and deed of each lot. The 15th day of September is appointed for a large company to meet in Lexington and mark out a road from there to the mouth of the Licking, provided Judge Symmes arrives, being daily expected. When the town is laid off lots will be given to such as may become residents before the first day of April next.

"MATTHIAS DENMAN,
"ROBERT PATTERSON,
"JOHN FILSON,

FREE OF CHARGE.

"The conditions for settling the town are as follows: That the first 30 in or out lots of said town to so many of the most early adventurers shall be given by the proprietary, Messrs. Denman, Ludlow and Patterson, who, for their part, do agree to make a deed in fee simple clear of all charge and incumbrance except the expense of surveying and deeding the same so soon as Judge Symmes can obtain a deed from Congress.

"The lot holders, for their part, do agree to become actual settlers on the premises; they shall plant and attend two crops

successively and not less than one acre shall be cultivated for said crop. And within two years from the date hereof each person who receives a donation lot or lots shall build a house equal to 20 feet square, one and a half stories high, with brick, stone or clay chimneys, which house shall stand on the front of their respective in-lots and shall be put into tenable repair all within the term of two years.

"These requisitions shall be minutely complied with on the penalty of forfeiture, unless it be impracticable on account of savage depredations."

JEALOUSY AMONG KENTUCKIANS.

By these it will be observed that speedy work was proposed by these early purchasers from Symmes and his associates of the Cincinnati interest in the possible 1,000,000 acres of the "Miami Purchase."

But the road was not built until many years after. Communication between the already well advanced Lexington and the infant settlements of the country on the Ohio side between the Miamis continued long to be by the roundabout trip by way of the river and Limestone (Maysville.) There immediately arose a feeling of deep jealousy in the great majority of the Kentuckians, who did everything in their power to dissuade voyagers down the Ohio to disembark at Limestone and take lands in Kentucky instead of continuing down the river to Columbia, Losantiville (Cincinnati) or to the settlements at or near the mouth of the Big Miami. In an official report to his associate proprietors of the "Miami Purchase," dated North Bend, May 18, 19 and 20, 1789, Judge Symmes says:

ARRIVAL OF LAND JOBBERS.

"Last September many land jobbers from Kentucky came into the purchase and applied for lands and actually pointed out on paper where they wished to take them. I gave them time to the first of November to make payment for one half and to the present month of May for the other half. The surveying and registering fees were to be paid at the time of the first half. Some of them agreed to give an advanced price in consideration

that I would wait to May, some 12 months, for the purchase money. This I was content to do on their paying the surveying fees by the first of November and allowing interest on the principal sum until paid. After this the greater part of them deserted me when about 40 miles up the (Great) Miami, where I had ventured on their promises to escort me down that river, meandering its courses, which so disoblged me that I have been very indifferent ever since whether one of them came into the purchase or not, as I found them very ungovernable and seditious; not to be awed or persuaded. To the disobedience of these I attribute the death of poor Filson, who had no rest afterward while with me, for fear of the Indians, and at length, attempting to escape to the body of men I had left on the Ohio, he was destroyed by the savages.

CAME FOR SPECULATION.

"The truth is, making a few exceptions of very worthy characters from the district of Kentucky, the most of them had no other views than speculation, as appeared soon after their return home from their selling to their neighbors the privilege of taking a part of what they had located and becoming accountable to me for the purchase money.

"Finding themselves disappointed in their views and no longer able to prosecute their plans of selling what they had never had an intention of making their own and driving the same game they have long followed in Kentucky, many have vented their spleen in abuses and calumnies, both of me and of the country within the purchase, endeavoring to prevent every person they can from coming to Miami. At Limestone they assert, with an air of assurance, that the Miami country is despicable; that many of the inhabitants are killed; the settlers all fled who have escaped the tomahawk, adjuring those bound to the falls of the Ohio not to call at the Miamis, for they would certainly be destroyed by the Indians. With these falsehoods they have terrified about 30 families who had come down the river with a design of settling at Miami, and prevailed with them to land at Limestone and go into Kentucky.

THEIR EFFORTS FRUSTRATED.

"But, however, they are not able to frustrate the settlement altogether. Every week, almost every day, some people arrive at one or the other of our towns and become purchasers and settlers. And I trust that the effect of their malevolence will very soon vanish like a fog. Many persons who have been with us made purchases, built houses and are fully satisfied and much pleased with the country, have returned, and are still returning every day to their homes in all parts of the country west, as well as east, of the Allegheny Mountains, with a view of returning to the Miamis in the fall, with their families and effects. These will sufficiently refute all the evil reports that have been spread abroad of the country and make the truth of the matter clear to the world. I do myself the honor herewith to transmit to you a map of the purchase as high as our surveys have hitherto been able to traverse the two Miami Rivers and extend the meridian line north into the heart of the country.

"By this survey, which has been done by a gentleman sworn to survey with accuracy and truth, you will see how the two Miamis approach each other; nor need I observe that so far from there being any overplus land within the limits of my first contract the truth is that I shall want some hundred thousand acres to make up the complement of 1,000,000. Hence, all will perceive the impropriety of pushing matters so very hastily and taking for granted without giving time for investigation that there is twice as much land between the Miamis as in fact there is. I shall draw no comment and only beg permission to say that if Mr. Stites is ousted of the settlement he has made with great danger and difficulty at the mouth of the Little Miami it cannot be either politic or just."

THE ILIFFS.

Dr. Charles E. Iliff, of this city, is a type of fine young American manhood, descended from one of the very oldest families of Cincinnati that came here from Pennsylvania. His great-grandfather was that sturdy Joshua Iliff, from that state, of old Quaker stock, who was one of the first tanners here, with

a tannery where now is the Pennsylvania Railroad Station. Readers will remember that the first tanneries were all in that neighborhood, and up Deer Creek therefrom. My copy of the first Cincinnati Directory, that of 1819, gives me this information: "Iliff, Joshua, tanner, Front, east of Deer Creek." There were then six tanneries here, employing 25 hands, with an output of tanned leather amounting to \$40,000. The Iliffs are quite numerous in this city and vicinity, particularly upon Mt. Adams.

It has never happened to this writer, even during a long course of abundant dealings with topics of dim past, to refer to a "grandfather's clock" until this present writing. This particular clock is the property of William O. Davie, long in the book business in Cincinnati and his brother John C. Davie, of the Big Four Railroad. It is keeping good time in its hundred and something year in the hall of their bachelor flat, in the Primrose Building on Race street. The names "Samuel Best, Cincinnati," in boldly printed letters across its white face, attest that it was sold by that original old "silversmith" of Front street, Cincinnati.

MARKS OF AN OLD AGE.

It was, no doubt, purchased from him by John Wood, the grandfather on the mother's side of these gentlemen, who was one of the early carpenters of Cincinnati about 100 years ago or later. The "round, laughing moon" still makes its changes on the dial. There are no dates or references or place of manufacture about it to indicate its age or its origin. It is about seven feet in height, with much fine interlaying of woods. A peculiarity about one of the maps shown on the face is in the fact that that portion of the world in these modern days divided into Asia and India, in brief is here set down merely as "Tartary," with "New Holland" for Australia.

John Wood was very prominent in his business in Cincinnati in his time. When Lafayette was welcomed here with great ceremony in 1824 he was selected by the Committee of Council having the arrangements in charge to provide the landing place at the foot of Broadway, with platform and steps and seats for the official family of the city who should first greet the distinguished little hero from France upon his setting foot upon the

soil of Cincinnati from the great barge conveying him from the Covington side after his long journey by carriage from Louisville, following his steamboat voyage from New Orleans up the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers. A very old citizen, whose father was close to the landing place, has told me that he heard his father say that when Lafayette observed that a piece of carpeting had been placed to receive his first footsteps on Cincinnati's hospitable shore he stepped to one side of it, remarking pleasantly that the soil of this great country was good enough for his feet.



MARY DEAN VINCENT MOUND.

A. B. COOVER.

[Mr. Coover is a Life Member of The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and has assisted Prof. W. C. Mills in many of the archæological explorations made by the Society. Mr. Coover acted as Curator of the Museum of the Society during the absence of Prof. Mills while in charge of the Society's exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition. It was during this time that Mr. Coover made the explorations herein described. — EDITOR.]

Under directions of the Secretary of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, I left Columbus on Wednesday, October 2d, for Beverly, O., to investigate the finding of skeletons at the Mary Dean Vincent mounds in Washington county. Upon my arrival at the home of Mr. Vincent I found that the description of the find as printed in the *Beverly Dispatch* under the date of September 20th was correctly stated; a part of this description I incorporate in my report.

"Mr. E. B. Vincent, a prominent farmer who resides three miles above Beverly on the west side of the Muskingum river, while working in a field a few days ago, came in contact with a large stone, standing in a perpendicular position. On investigation he found that the stone was part of an enclosure which proved to be a prehistoric grave, eight feet long, four feet wide and two feet deep. This grave was enclosed with stones ranging in size from one to two feet square.

"Within the grave Mr. Vincent found a skeleton in a fair state of preservation and surrounding it were several rare prehistoric relics. Among these were two fine spearheads — one white and the other black — four inches long and perfect in every respect; a gorget (celt) of fine polish, five inches long; and several stones of a hard granite substance with perforations, probably used as ornaments. Nearly all these relics were found around the head and shoulders pointing toward the remains.

"Mr. C. L. Bozman, a life member of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, with Mr. Corner, photographer at Beverly, drove up to the site on Monday and secured photographs of the remains as they were found.

"About one hundred yards north of the grave where the remains were found, there is a prehistoric mound known to all older citizens as

one of rare prominence. The mound is 70 x 80 feet and 7 or 8 feet high, and is known as the Mary Dean Vincent mound, having been named in honor of the daughter of Mr. Vincent, owner of the farm. The farm was at one time owned by Equal Bacon, deceased, and was purchased by Mr. Vincent a number of years ago.

"Mr. Vincent, through Mr. Bozman, has kindly donated this mound to the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society for exploration purposes."

The Mary Dean Vincent mounds are located on the Muskingum river in Waterford township, Washington county, near



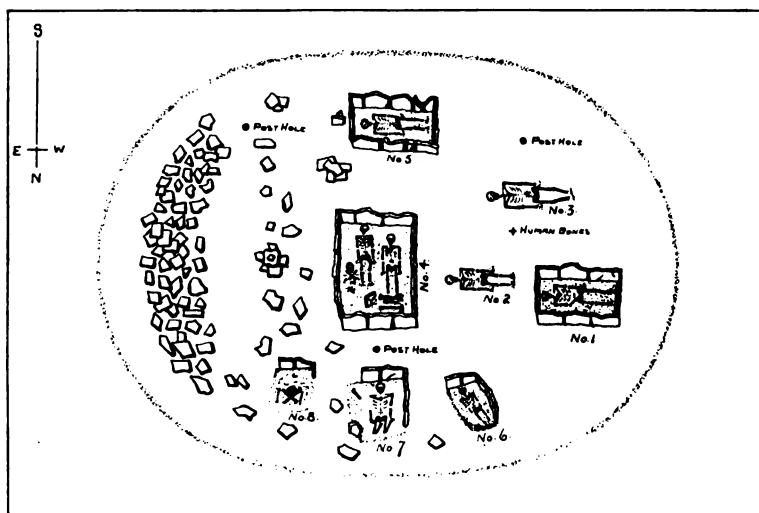
View of the Mound, looking East.

the southern extremity of a sand ridge, which extends north and south for a distance of about one and one-half miles, and is some three hundred yards wide and fifty feet above the level of the river at this point. The valley is about one-half mile wide and from the elevated position of the mounds a commanding view north, east and south is obtained, while some three or four hundred yards to the west, and across a narrow ravine which divides the sand ridge from the upland, rises a densely wooded hill some three or four hundred feet high.

There are two mounds on the ridge, some two hundred yards apart. The land has been under cultivation for about

seventy-five years, and the mounds have been greatly reduced in height. Mound No. 1, which has just been opened, was thirty by twenty-four feet and about eighteen inches high. Mound No. 2 lies directly north of No. 1, and is a fine specimen of an oblong mound seventy by eighty feet and seven or eight feet high.

The stone used in making the stone graves are slabs of sandstone from one to two feet in diameter and one to two inches thick, and were carried from the adjacent hillside where it outcrops.



Ground Plan of Mary Dean Vincent Mound No. 1, Showing Positions of Burials.

Following the find of the first burial, Mr. Vincent later discovered a second skeleton which he and Mr. Bozman uncovered and left in place until my arrival.

The second skeleton lay at full length with the head to the east. There was no stone placed around this burial, neither were there any artifacts placed with it; but at the depth of about ten inches and two feet south, was found a small sandstone tablet which had been broken. The bones being in a bad state of preservation I was unable to obtain a photograph of the skeleton.

Directly south of graves No. 1 and 2 was found a slight trace of a body having been buried, the soil being discolored and a very small fragment of human bones was all that was left to tell the story.

The third burial was found on the southwest side of the mound; the skeleton lay at full length with the head to the east. There was no stone placed around this burial. The bones were very soft and crumbled at the least touch. Near the remains was found a small stone celt, one arrowpoint, and a nicely fin-



View of Grave No. 4, Looking South.

ished flint scraper. Several quartzite pebbles and numerous flint chips were also found near by.

The fourth grave was the most peculiar one of all that was found in this mound, and contained three skeletons. A stone enclosure had been set up and in it placed two bodies lying at full length, with the heads to the south. The third skeleton in this burial was a dismembered one, and had been buried after the flesh had been removed from the bones. Two femurs and an humerus, with a part of the innominate bones, were placed two inches above one of the skeletons and an enclosure of small sand-

stone slabs placed around them, while the remainder of the skeleton was found in a heap nearby and on a level with the other skeletons, near the skull of one and between the two skeletons, was found six flint arrow and spearpoints; a flint chisel four and one-half inches long; a beaver tooth which may have been used as a chisel; one bone bead made from the wing bone of a bird, and a piece of deer bone about three and one-half inches long. Scattered through the earth, and within the stone



Stone at the Head of Burial No. 4.

enclosure, were found several fragments of pottery. The top of this grave was within six inches of the plow line and the bones were so badly decomposed that they crumbled soon after being exposed to the air.

The fifth grave was southwest of the fourth burial and near the edge of the mound. Stones had been nicely placed to form a grave seven feet long by nineteen inches wide, and contained the skeleton of an adult who in life was about five feet and ten inches tall. The bones were mostly in a poor condition, with the exception of a few ribs that were found under a flat stone which had

fallen over that part of the body. One broken arrowpoint was all that was found with this burial.

Burial No. 6 was that of a very young child which had been placed within a small stone enclosure north of the center of the mound. A few teeth, which were soon turned to dust upon exposure to the air, and the discolored soil, was all that remained to show that the body had been placed in its grave.

Burial No. 7 was near the edge and on the north side of the mound. The grave was only partly enclosed with stone slabs. The body lay with the legs bent at the knees, the feet lying



View of Graves No. 4 and 5, looking East.

directly under the femurs. The right humerus was separated from the body and lay eleven inches east of the head.

Two feet east of burial No. 7 was found the eighth and last grave, which was partly surrounded by stone and contained a skeleton the bones of which had been placed within a space eighteen by twenty-four inches. This was the skeleton of a child perhaps ten years of age, and had been buried after the bones had become separated. The skull lay near the center of the heap of bones with the teeth up; while the lower jaw was found some thirteen inches to the south of the skull.

The eastern end of the mound was covered with flat stone for a distance of ten feet, and may have originally extended some distance farther west, as at this point they were within reach of the plow and may have been carried away by this means. Under this covering of stone was found a seam of dark colored earth, several inches thick, which may have been decomposed vegetable matter; but no bones or other objects were found beneath them.

Scattered throughout the mound, and having no seeming relation with the burials, were found numbers of stones showing



View of the Stone and Graves No. 4 and 5, looking Southwest.

the action of fire; flint chips; several arrowpoints, and broken stones which show evidence of having been worked by the hand of man.

Small pieces of charcoal were found in various parts of the mound; but not more than a handful of ashes were found throughout the entire work. Three post holes about six inches in diameter and twelve to fourteen feet apart in the form of a triangle were located as shown on the sketch of the mound. Although a careful lookout was kept for any signs of a wooden

enclosure having been built on the site of the mound, nothing was found except the three post holes mentioned above.

I cannot close this report without expressing my indebtedness to both Mr. Vincent and Mr. Bozman for valuable and gracious assistance which they personally rendered. They gratuitously donated time and labor and materially contributed to the successful accomplishment of our united efforts.



View of East End of Mound, looking North. Grave No. 4 and Stone Covering shows in the View.

ANNE BAILEY.

VIRGIL A. LEWIS.

[Mr. Lewis is the State Historian of West Virginia, the author of "The History of West Virginia" and many valuable publications concerning the early historical events in the Ohio Valley.]

All that was earthly of Anne Bailey, the Pioneer Heroine of the Great Kanawha Valley, that has not crumbled to dust, has been removed to Point Pleasant and re-interred in Tu-Endie-Wei Park. It is, therefore, now time to eliminate from the story of her wonderful career and life of adventure, as scout and messenger, everything of a mythical legendary, fabulous and fanciful character, and to learn and to know the real narrative — the truth — regarding that record female heroism which has no parallel in the annals of the Border Wars. The keeping of her grave is now in care of the Colonel Charles Lewis Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution and they must answer a thousand questions regarding her, whose bones they keep. Anne Bailey was herself a Daughter of the Revolution, a real one, who served her country faithfully and well when that struggle was in progress. Then this western border was the "Back Door of the Revolution," and the men and women who kept back from it the savage allies of Great Britain were the "Rear Guard of the Revolution." Anne Bailey was one of these; and the school children should be able to tell to the thousands who will henceforth visit her tomb, the real story of her life.

The following facts obtained from Border Annals, from official records, and from persons who knew Anne Bailey, will help them to do this:

1742. Anne Bailey, whose maiden name was Hennis, was born in Liverpool, the western metropolis of England the home of her father, who, in early life, had been wounded at the battle of Blenheim, while serving under the Duke of Marlborough. She was named for Queen Anne.

1747. When five years of age her mother took her to London to visit relatives, and for the first time and probably the last, she saw the splendors of the British capital. While there she witnessed the execution, April 9th, of Lord Lovet on a charge of treason. (See any good history of England.)

1748 to 1760. She resided in Liverpool and attended school in that city.

1761. Both parents were dead and she was alone in a great city. This year she crossed the Atlantic to join her relatives, the Bells who had emigrated to Virginia some years before. A journey over the Blue Ridge brought her to their home near Staunton in the Shenandoah Valley.

1765. She wedded Richard Trotter, who had been at Braddock's Defeat and was prominent in Border Wars. Representatives of his family still reside in the Shenandoah Valley.

1774. On the 10th day of October, her husband, Richard Trotter, was killed in the battle of Point Pleasant.

1774 to 1785. Eleven years of widowhood. When she heard of the death of her husband a strange wild dream seemed to possess her and she vowed revenge on the Indian race. Having matured her plans she submitted them to Mrs. Moses Mann then residing in Augusta, but afterward in Bath county. She approved them and gave a home to the orphan son. It was now that Anne Bailey abandoned that home life that had once been so dear to her and entered upon that military career which has made her name famous for all time. Clad in the male costume of the Border, with rifle in hand, she attended the militia musters and urged men to go to war against the Indians in defense of hopeless women and children; or to enlist in the continental army and fight the Briton from the sea. Then she became messenger and scout going from one frontier post to another, thus continuing that career of female heroism which made her name a familiar one to the pioneers.

1785. She was again united in marriage, this time to John Bailey, a distinguished border leader of southwest Virginia. He had assisted in carrying Col. Charles Lewis off the field when fatally wounded at the battle of Point Pleasant. Rev. John Mc-

Cue was the officiating clergyman. (See Marriage Record, No. 1. p. 7, in the County Clerk's office at Lewisburg.)

1788. She went with her husband to Fort Lee which was built by the Clendenins that year on the present site of the city of Charleston, the capital of West Virginia. The husband was a member of the Garrison and she served as messenger between Fort Lee and Fort Randolph, at Point Pleasant.

1791. She made her famous ride from Fort Lee to Fort Savannah at Lewisburg to secure a supply of powder for the Garrison of the former place when it was besieged by the Indians. Having obtained this she returned and thus saved the Garrison and other inmates from death at savage hands. The distance between the two forts was more than a hundred miles, the whole of it was a wilderness road.

1800. Her son William, grown to full manhood, took Mary Cooper, whose home was on the farm now owned by George Pullins, Esq., on the Kanawha river about nine miles above Point Pleasant in a canoe, to Gallipolis where they were united in marriage, the first Virginians married in the old French town. (See Records of Gallia county, Ohio.)

1802. Her husband, John Bailey, died and was buried on the Joseph Carroll farm, fifteen miles above Charleston, on an eminence overlooking the beautiful Kanawha and there he now reposes. A second time Anne Bailey was a widow and she went to live with her son William Trotter. She rode back and forth from Point Pleasant to Lewisburg and Staunton, acting in the capacity of letter carrier and express messenger, and thus she was employed for several years.

1817. She made her last visit to Charleston and there and in that vicinity spent the summer of that year.

1818. She removed with her son to Harrison township, Gallia county, Ohio, he having sold his farm on the Kanawha about three miles above Point Pleasant, the preceding year to William Sterrett, the consideration being fourteen hundred dollars, current money of Virginia. (See Records, Mason County Clerk's Office.)

1820. About this time she was a frequent visitor at Gallipolis where she was ever a welcome visitor in the homes of the

old French settlers of that place. Her home was nine miles away and she was in the habit of walking the whole distance.

1825. November 22nd, Anne Bailey died suddenly at night, while sleeping with her two little grandchildren, one of whom, the aged Mrs. Willey, still lives at Gallipolis. For seventy-six years her remains reposed in the Trotter graveyard in the vicinity in which she lived, her grave being kept green by her descendants.

1901. The members of the Point Pleasant Battle Monument Commission learned that the relatives of Anne Bailey were willing that her bones should be removed to Point Pleasant. On Saturday, October 5th, Hon. John P. Austin, accompanied by Mr. Norman Gibson, of Henderson, West Virginia, was dispatched to the graveyard in Gallia county, Ohio, where, on that day the remains were exhumed and the next day conveyed to Point Pleasant, where on the 10th of October they were reinterred in the Monument Park under the auspices of the Col. Charles Lewis Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, and here they will repose while thousands who hereafter visit the spot will learn the story of her strange and eventful life.



JOHN MORGAN RAID IN OHIO.

[The following article was written by a veteran of the Civil War, now a resident at the Dayton Soldiers' Home, and was printed recently in the *Lima Times Democrat*, with notes and comments by the editor of that paper. The history of the raid and the efforts to head off the bold leader and his band of daredevils is believed to be authentic. — Editor.]

The Army of the Cumberland, under General Rosecrans was preparing for the advance on the campaign which was checked at Chickamauga, and culminated in the "Battle Above the Clouds" at Lookout Mountain, and the victory at Missionary Ridge. At the same time General Burnside's Army of the Ohio was preparing for the advance into east Tennessee, thereby co-operating with the Army of the Cumberland, under General Rosecrans. All this was in the early summer of 1863.

Out of the night marched 10,000 Confederate horsemen, under the leadership of that most distinguished raider, Gen. John H. Morgan. These Confederate horsemen were headed to the north, and passed between the armies of Rosecrans and Burnside. The Union commanders made hasty preparations to meet this movement of the enemy, and within a few hours 3,000 Union horsemen, under command of Gen. E. H. Hobson, were in pursuit of Morgan's forces.

This was the famous so-called "Ohio raid," which extended across the states of Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio, and terminated at New Lisbon, Columbiana county, Ohio. If Morgan had been permitted to have gone one day longer he could have watered his horses in Lake Erie. This bold dash of the Confederate cavalry persistently pursued by the Union horsemen for a distance of about a thousand miles, reaching into and across the northern states of Indiana and Ohio at the highest tide of the Civil War, was one of the most interesting and certainly one of the most picturesque events of the great war.

A particularly striking feature of this cavalry campaign was that it was witnessed by more persons than any other military

operation of the entire war. Thousands and tens of thousands of citizens of Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio thronged the line of march taken by General Morgan and the pursuing forces under General Hobson.

General Morgan and his troopers were the beau ideal raiders of the South, and as such, had won great fame. Morgan and his chief lieutenant, General Basil Duke, were exceedingly skilled in misleading the Union forces, and up to this time had been universally successful in their cavalry operations and had effected great damage upon the railway lines supplying the Union armies in the field.

General Morgan and his troopers were most industrious in giving out the information that his horsemen were 10,000 in number, but as a matter of fact they numbered only 2,500.

After crossing Cumberland River below Burksville, Morgan made a rapid march across the state of Kentucky, the first 150 miles being merely the warming-up heat. On July 4th, at Green River Bridge, near Columbia, he called upon Colonel Moore, of a Michigan regiment, guarding the railroad bridge, to surrender to save the effusion of blood. This Union officer promptly replied that the Fourth of July was not a good day for surrendering, and that he was prepared to effuse all the blood that might be called for. Morgan accepted the challenge, made the attack, and was speedily repulsed, losing heavily in officers and men.

Morgan did not have time to renew the attack, as he learned that Colonel Frank Wolford's brigade, comprising the First Kentucky cavalry and the Seventh Ohio cavalry, two large regiments, were approaching to reinforce Colonel Moore. Morgan withdrew, and leaving his wounded to the care of Colonel Moore, continued his rapid march northward.

On the morning of the fifth of July, Morgan attacked the garrison at Lebanon, Ky., on its refusal to surrender, and with severe loss captured this garrison. In the list of killed was Captain Tom Morgan, a brother of General John Morgan.

We, the pursuers, expected General Morgan to turn eastward before striking the Ohio River, but in this we were mistaken, as, upon arriving at Brandenburg, some forty miles below

Louisville, he seized passing steamboats and landed his forces in Indiana.

Before crossing the Ohio River the Confederate leader sent a portion of his command to threaten Louisville, and then melt away. He picked men mounted on the best horses, to the number of about 2,000, comprised the force he led on the raid north of the Ohio River.

Following his trail, we arrived at Brandenburg just in time to see his rear guard disappear over the river bank, going northward into Indiana. This rear guard stopped long enough to wave their hats at us, and bid us good-by. The steamboats they had used in crossing were at that moment bursting into flames and burned to the water's edge, tied fast to the Indiana shore. Other steamboats were hurriedly obtained and our pursuing force, 3,000 strong, under General Hobson was hastily transferred across the river, men and horses being tumbled aboard the boats in quick order, and tumbled as quickly off on the other side.

The appearance of Morgan's men on the north bank of the Ohio River created great consternation in Indiana and Ohio. The governor of Indiana called out the "home guards" to the number of 50,000 and as Morgan's advance turned toward Ohio, the governor (David Tod) of the Buckeye state called out 50,000 more from his state.

At Corydon, Indiana, the "home guards" gave the enemy a brisk little battle, and delayed their advance for a brief time. At Vernon, Ind., Governor Morton, the great war governor of that state had a large force of "home guards" to meet the invaders. Morgan made a demand upon the commander of this force to surrender. This was promptly refused, and two hours' time asked in which to remove the women, children and non-combatants. General Morgan was a chivalrous leader, and generously allowed the time asked for. These two hours were consumed by the home guards in hustling the women, children and the old men away from the dangers of the battlefield, and as the hand of time marked the expiration of the truce, the able-bodied citizens rolled up their sleeves, swallowed the Adam's apple, which had risen uncomfortably high in their throats, and

prepared to wipe Morgan's "critter company" off the face of the earth. But when they proceeded to execute their bloodthirsty program they found that Morgan and his boys were ten miles away, having flanked Vernon and proceeded on their journey.

General Hobson's pursuing column of which my regiment, the Seventh Ohio cavalry, was a part, arrived at Vernon a few hours after Morgan's departure. We were now marching without rations, and in order to expedite our progress, telegrams were sent all over Indiana and Ohio, telling the Union people that 3,000 Union horsemen were in pursuit of Morgan, and asking the citizens of Indiana to feed us, that we might not be delayed in preparing and cooking our rations. The citizens of Indiana received us with the greatest joy and enthusiasm, and from the time of our arrival on Indiana soil until the end of the march in eastern Ohio, a distance of about 300 miles, our lines of patriotic people, occupying each side of the road, men, women and children laden with good things for us to eat, mostly fried chicken.

Spring chickens were then just ripe, and, in truth and literally, there were 600 miles of fried chicken for us. You may look upon this as an exaggeration, but I trust it will not be so considered. I am surprised at my moderation in thus describing the fried chicken prepared for us on this march, in view of the fact that whichever way we turned or whatever road we followed, the women met us promptly with the greatest abundance of fried chicken. I am inclined to think it would be entirely within the bounds of truth if I described the same as six hundred square miles of fried chicken. All the soldier had to do was to fill his stomach and his haversack, the enthusiastic citizen did the rest.

The women of the north, like their countrywomen of the south, could not march, but they could "mark time" with a surprising degree of efficiency. In view of the fact that the line of march of Morgan's men could not be foretold, the women of the entire states of Indiana and Ohio "marked time" and prepared to see to it that no man of General Hobson's forces went hungry longer than 60 seconds. Without this impromptu rationing of the troops by the women it is almost certain that General

Hobson could not have carried his 3,000 troopers through to success in overtaking, defeating and capturing Morgan's raiders.

It was under the conditions above described that we had the most convincing demonstration that veteran soldiers complain only when they have superabundance of food. The same men had not a whisper of complaint to make when, some months later, in east Tennessee, five nubbins of corn were issued to each of them, this bountiful supply being intended as a full repast for both the troopers and his horses, but when the troopers were fed with nearly a hundred meals a day for three weeks and each meal consisted of fried chickens, blackberry pie, crabapple jelly and home-made biscuit, hot from the oven, all washed down with sweet milk or buttermilk, then it was that the veterans complained bitterly, crying out in distress for their sustaining food of "hard tack and salt pork."

In Morgan's sweep across three states, for a thousand miles, he swept his line of march and for some distance on each side, almost clean of horses, giving his command frequent remounts, leaving us, his pursuers, to find mounts with extreme difficulty. Morgan took far more horses than needed, but he had a purpose in this, and this purpose was to keep his pursuers from securing remounts. Morgan set the pegs for us, and set them high every day. He had now passed the "warming-up heat" and was getting down to real work.

During the entire raid the forces under Morgan and Hobson numbered about 5,000 men, starting with 5,000 horses, but many of these horses gave out, and were abandoned on the roadside, the riders securing remounts from the country through which they traveled. Some of the riders wore out as many as eight horses, and secured as many remounts. It would be entirely safe to state that the men of Morgan's and Hobson's commands employed on this expedition not less than 25,000 horses, averaging five horses to each soldier.

This may seem a high estimate, but Judge Henry L. Stone, general counsel of the Louisville & Nashville Railway system, who was one of Morgan's men on this raid, states in a published paper, that he rode down eight horses, and adds, "although this number was perhaps above the average to the man, there were

doubtless 15,000 horses ridden at different times by Morgan's men on this raid." General Hobson's pursuing column used not less than 10,000 horses, Morgan deprived us of as many mounts as we needed, or we would have used more.

General Morgan's command was probably the best mounted light cavalry that ever existed, and while Morgan's command obtained many remounts, they seldom abandoned the well-bred horses that they brought with them from Kentucky, but allowed them to travel light, and used them only in great emergencies. Morgan's men had many of the best blooded horses of Kentucky, horses capable of long and rapid marches, and in justice to General Morgan and his officers it must be said they handled their men and horses with superb skill.

It was on this raid that General Morgan established the world's record for moving cavalry. The longest march made by Morgan's men at one stretch was nearly one hundred miles in 30 hours, being the march he made from a point in Indiana west of Cincinnati, passing in the rear of Cincinnati, to Williamsburg, O. There are many individual horses that can march 100 miles in 30 hours, but the speed of a column of cavalry is not measured by the speed of its fastest and best horses, but by the speed of its slowest horses. Furthermore it was Morgan's task to keep his 2,000 horses in such a condition that they would be able to march 100 miles on any day or every day that he might call on them for the effort, this with only the brief period of rest, and with small rations.

The horses impressed by Morgan and by Hobson as they traveled across the three states were not of much value as they were soft, grass-fed animals and after making only a few miles at a rapid pace, set by the seasoned cavalry horses hard as nails and as tough as leather, were used up. The impressed horses were unseasoned by campaigning and were unable to strike the pace of the column and keep it at an even gait day and night.

In General Morgan's command, and also General Hobson's there were many horses that made the entire march from start to finish. On this expedition I rode my well-seasoned black mare over the entire route to Kentucky, when I rode into camp at Stanford after covering more than a thousand miles, this

mare, "Nellie," after recognizing our old camp pranced in sideways, saying to me without words, "If there is one thing I like better than another it is these little thousand-mile excursions."

In his march around Cincinnati, Morgan passed through Glendale, one of the suburban villages in which many Cincinnatians have fine homes and Morgan's men could plainly see the lights or if it had been daylight could have seen the city spires of Corryville and Mount Auburn.

On our march across Indiana and Ohio each day was very much like the other. The only stops we made were to feed the horses. All the other part of the time we were marching day and night catching our sleep on horseback as we went along and one peculiarity of this march across Indiana and Ohio was that the people who lined the roadsides by the thousands greeted us universally with one and the same song. Every one of us was doing our level best, but none the less these citizens tried to enthruse us to still greater efforts by singing, "Rally 'Round the Flag Boys." This song sung to us every hour of the day and the night, almost drove us to distraction. Nevertheless the youngsters in our army got their fun out of this.

For instance, at early dawn one morning, while we were marching as rapidly as possible, one of our boys discovered a little family by the roadside, consisting of the mother and three daughters, who had evidently just got out of bed to see the soldiers. With wondering eyes and wide-open mouths they stood looking at us in silence. One of our boys said that he was surprised that this family was not singing "Rally 'Round the Flag." Another one in a spirit of fun, said: "I'll start 'em up."

Thereupon he assumed character of the general in command, and approaching this little family group told them that his soldiers were greatly exhausted by the long march, and asked this family to encourage the soldiers by singing "Rally 'Round the Flag." Whereupon the little group, anxious to do their part, started up with "Rally 'Round the Flag Boys."

General Hobson, our commander, after the raid was over, went home for a few days' visit and he relates that the clock in his room was ticking "Rally 'Round the Flag" and the katydids in his doorway sang "Rally 'Round the Flag."

In southern Ohio many of the troopers of my regiment passed their own doorsteps. The second lieutenant of my company picked up two of his own children on the roadside, they having run to meet him from their home nearby, and strange to relate, they brought him a breakfast of fried chicken and were singing "Rally 'Round the Flag."

In the hill country about Piketon and Jackson, O., the "home guards" delayed Morgan's advance by felling trees across the road, and occasionally we picked up some of Morgan's stragglers. In a literal sense of the word, these men who were not stragglers, but were men who were worn out and utterly exhausted that further effort was impossible. When found, these men were asleep—not in a gentle doze—but in deep sleep, and we would have to roll them about roughly to awaken them. Often we would stand them on their feet and they would reply to questions, but in a dazed sort of way, and evidently yet asleep.

On their march across the states of Indiana and Ohio, Morgan's men passed through a very rich and prosperous region as well as many thriving towns. The cavalry soldier on a raid of this kind in the enemy's country does not draw a very fine distinction as to property rights. The general rule is that everything that is out of doors is mine, and everything that is indoors belongs to my messmates.

Acting upon this convenient rule the Confederate troopers loaded themselves and their horses with every conceivable thing, taken mostly from the stores of the towns they passed through. Not only did they provide liberally for themselves, but they did not forget to remember the girls they left behind them. At all events, they loaded themselves and their horses, and even spring wagons with a vast quantity of plunder, such as muslin by the bolt, calico by the hundred yards, shoes, stockings, corsets, underwear and gloves. The hardware stores were by no means neglected, from these soldiers loaded themselves down with skates. They lived entirely off the country, taking bread from the ovens, and meat from the family larders. They quenched their thirst with—

"Sometimes water, sometimes milk;
Sometimes apple jack, fine as silk."

On the 18th of July, more than two weeks after our start at the Cumberland River, Morgan was approaching the Ohio River, near Buffington Island, not far from the historic Blennerhasset Island. In mid-summer the Ohio River is usually fordable at this point. Morgan was striking for these fords expecting to cross the Ohio River into West Virginia. General Hobson's command was now about eight hours in the rear of Morgan, and our men seemed thoroughly exhausted, and the most of our horses were "all in."

Under this condition General Hobson ordered the picked men and horses of three regiments, the Seventh Ohio cavalry, under Colonel Israel Garrard; the English Michigan cavalry, under Colonel William P. Sanders, and the Second Ohio cavalry, all under the command of Colonel A. V. Kautz of the last named regiment, with two pieces of artillery pressed forward to make a supreme effort, sparing neither man nor horse to bring Morgan to bay and compel him to fight before he could ford the Ohio River. It was my good fortune to be selected as a factor in this forlorn hope. This force of picked men tightened their belts, took up their saddle girths two holes and sprang into their saddles for the sixteenth consecutive all-night march on the evening of July 18th.

Colonel A. V. Kautz, the commander of the flying column, was one officer of the regular army, who had previously commanded our brigade, and we were only too glad to follow his flag, which we felt certain would lead to victory. As we sprang into our saddle for this final effort, General Hobson bade us God-speed, and assured us of his prompt support in every way with the remainder of the force under his command. Our flying column moved rapidly through the summer night. Little was said by the men or officers as the night hours passed rapidly by "Like a phantom troop in Dreamland:

"On the march, each wind-shod troop the purple midnight through,
Now at a walk, now at a trot, as though passing to review;
With sabers drawn and misty banners waving all.
And drifting upward to the stars an inspiring bugle call,
The phantom sounds of battle float along the peopled air,
Muffled commands — the captain's shout and — hark! A distant cheer."

Just as the sky was growing gray with the coming dawn on July 19th the welcome sound of a few shots by our advance guard told us we had struck Morgan's outposts. Colonel Kautz immediately pushed his command forward at a brisk gait. Riding into the valley of the Ohio near Buffington Island, we developed Morgan's force where it had been delayed in a fog, waiting for daylight to ford the river into West Virginia. Morgan's 2,000 horsemen were waiting in the lower end of the valley, which lay between the hills and the river. The Union troops, under General Judah (including General Seammon's detachments from the Kanawha Valley, coming up the river from Pomeroy, where the steamboats had landed them, approached the enemy about the same time our vanguard of General Hobson's force, led by Colonel Kautz, began the descent into the middle of the valley occupied by Morgan. We attacked bird cages, sleigh bells and even pieces of artillery, answering Judah's guns, told Morgan that those who had followed him from the Cumberland River had closed in on him.

In one of the numerous hot rear guard skirmishes that took place both before and after Judah's troops had arrived on the scene, Major McCook, father of "Fighting McCooks," was mortally wounded by a Confederate bullet. This was on the West Virginia side. Major McCook was a paymaster in the army, who, in his fiery ardor and patriotic zeal, had joined the column in the capacity of a volunteer aide, and, pushing forward into the thick of the fight received the death wound. The writer of this bracketed annotation upon Colonel Allen's vivid sketch saw Major McCook immediately after he was shot, lying on a cot in a farm house on the West Virginia bank of the Ohio River. He was shortly afterward placed on board a steamboat bound for Cincinnati, and died two days later.

With the rising of the sun the fog lifted, showing the gunboats in the river (tinclads, as they were called), and all hope of escape for Morgan by the shallow bar was gone.

Some succeeded in getting beyond this gorge to continue their flight, though many dismounted and disabled were captured here, while some halted a short distance beyond the forest clad hills to surrender rather than continue a hopeless flight.

One attachment of Confederates surrendered and came under my command. After escorting this detachment to our lines I found that during my absence Colonel Garrard had continued the pursuit of such as had escaped at the sunken gorge, but before going had left a detachment of the Seventh Ohio cavalry to wait for my return with orders for me to remain with the prisoners on the river bank until further orders from him.

Then prisoners and guards rested for a few minutes on the river bank, all gazing wistfully at the water. It must be borne in mind that both Morgan's and Hobson's command had been in the saddle for about three weeks, during all of which time we had ridden in the gray clouds of dust which our thousands of horses raised on the country roads in mid-summer and these clouds were so dense that it was impossible for the riders to see his horses' ears and it can readily be seen that under these circumstances a bath would be most desirable.

As we sat on the river bank first one man then another asked permission to go to the water's edge to wash his face, till soon about one-half of the men, both Union and Confederate, were at the water's edge washing their hands and faces and digging the dust out of their eyes, ears and nostrils. This proved to be such a half-way sort of business and so unsatisfactory that the men asked to go in swimming. Recognizing the merit of the request I gave permission for one-half the guards to go in swimming together and the other half to stand by and take their turns. The men stripped off and soon both sides, "Yankees" and "Johnnies" were splashing in water together, enjoying the most necessary bath they ever had in their lives. The first detachment having completed their scrubbing the second detachment took their turn.

While men were bathing one of the Confederates turned to me and pointing to the naked soldiers in the water, said: It is difficult to tell t'other from which meaning that he found difficulty in telling "Yankee" from "Johnnie" when they were stripped naked. I quickly agreed with him as I was at that moment debating in my mind whether there was any danger of "getting the babies mixed" but a glance at the men in dusty blue on the shore

with their Spencer carbines re-assured me and I permitted the boys to gambol in the water to their hearts content.

After the bath the guards shared their fried chicken in their haversacks with the prisoners and we spread ourselves out on the grass under the shade of the trees in regular picnic fashion resting and waiting for orders.

One of the officials with General Duke gave me a little Confederate flag about the size of my two hands. I accepted this little flag and asked the name of the officer. He replied "Captain Hines." He recently died at Frankfort, Ky., and at the time of his death was chief Justice of the state court of appeals.

"He jests at scars who never felt a wound." This quotation suggests itself by reason of the fact that under the varying fortunes of war less than four months after the events spoken of in a sharp cavalry engagement in east Tennessee I found myself a prisoner of war in the hands of the Fourth Kentucky cavalry of Giltner's brigade one of Morgan's regiments, but made my escape in twelve hours.

The Ohio raid practically ended at Buffington Island, although Morgan himself was not captured there, but with a small portion of his men escaped and fled to Lake Erie, being captured at Lisbon in Columbiana County, Ohio, within one day's ride of Lake Erie.

From the moment of Morgan's landing on the Indiana side of the Ohio river until his defeat at Buffington's Island, not less than 100,000 "home guards" were called out to suppress him. One can but admire the skill and courage of Morgan and Duke, which enabled them to lead the 2,000 troopers on such a raid baffling for so long the efforts of so many men to capture them.

Gunboats, steamboats, ferryboats, cavalry, infantry, artillery, all joined in pursuit, but none were more helpful than the women with their rations of fried chicken. Without this assistance from the women of Indiana and Ohio, it is doubtful if General Hobson could have carried his 3,000 troopers through to victory, and it may truly be said that the capture of Morgan and his men was largely due to the assistance given to the troops by the women of Indiana and Ohio.

FORT GREENVILLE TRADITIONS.

JAMES OLIVER ARNOLD.

Four walls of wood growth of hickory, walnut, oak, ash and elm, mingled with maples and undergrowth, so dense that a horseman could not pass; so tall that its shade cast a gloom about; and between these walls a clearing and military fort. Beyond, another clearing and a cabin built of logs, lighted by a little window. The heavy oaken door swung on wooden hinges; the curling smoke from the chimney, made of lath, grass and clay; and "the latch string out," bid welcome to the guest without; an invitation to enjoy the open fire and the hospitalities of the host. A veritable, typical home of the pioneer in the County of Darke, in the Village of Greenville, O. "A U. S. military fort," in the latter days of the 17th century, where General Wayne bid the Indians all adieu.

The military engineers then laid their roads on the "high ways" above the lowlands, swamps and fallen timber, and so narrow that the wheels of the conestoga wagons would touch the undergrowth and trees in passing to the fort. Through lands so wet and ruts and mud so deep that to ride the saddle horse of the team, and the family on horseback, in the trail was a lullaby in comparison to the rocking, jolting wagons that sheltered the mother and her babes on their journey to the clearing in the forest wild. Grandfather Hardman (Herdman) of Pennsylvania, his heroic wife and two sons, one son and his wife Mary, and her babe, were the pioneers in such a home. True to family tradition, often told in later years, that made the small boy tremble with fear as he heard it before the great open fire in the home yet standing in Dayton View, there were related the stories of the hostile Indians, who were jealous of their rights, and would have scalped the family long before but for the mother, Mary Hardman, who knew their habits from a child and her mother's way of pleasing them by "putting the kettle on" to make them soups

when e'er she'd see them come, thus to appease their wrath and to afford protection. The son who was doing duty as a soldier at the fort pleaded and pleaded in vain to have them come within the line and not expose themselves to fate. But, heeding not, they held their own opinion, determined to carve a home in the forest for themselves and children.

The morning dawned, the atmosphere so dense that smoke from all the clearing round seemed so depressing that boded the coming of the foe, and she often looked through the chinks toward the wagon road to sight them first, that they might be ready in defense. Grandfather said in muffled tones: "It is one of the old woman's scares that she cooks up on gloomy days." But hark! Behind the cabin footsteps of no uncertain sound to the practiced ear, reassured the mother of her alarm, and hastened to place the kettle on the fire, for well she knew their stealthy tread on mischief bent. And when she saw the swarthy face between the cabin chinks she knew their fate was sealed and called her son and bade him hasten to escape and alarm the soldiers at the fort, for all her hope was gone. The mother clasped her babe to run for life. Each must seek themselves a place of safety, and ere the father crossed the fence, an arrow swiftly sped, had laid him cold in death. The mother ran, hid by bushes, with her babe, until faint and weary with her load and finding they were on her trail, concealed her babe, thinking they might spare it, and ran to hide herself in a place of safety. So well she knew the woods and dens to trap the fox, she jumped in one of these and covered with leaves she lay hiding until the night passed. They had found the babe and by torture cruel, so that she could hear it cry, exclaiming as they passed, "Calf cry, cow come." This too heart rending for a mother's love, she raised her head and thus exposed to sight, when a warrior, active, yet quite young, turned back to cleave her skull, but touched with pity followed on and left the babe and mother to their fate, in answer to her prayer. When all was quiet she went her solitary way toward the fort and there found help and started to their forest home. O! what a scene. Her father, mother, slain, her husband dead beside the broad bush fence, and the son beyond.

They gathered all and carried them to the fort, leaving the

desolated home. The soldiers swore in wrath their vengeance and pursued the Indians to their death and captured many who paid the penalty, "save one." And she, who never forgot the face of him, so young, who saved her life and the babe, when he, a captive taken, she in turn saved him from death with pleading tears. He, then unknown to fame, was the future great Tecumseh, born on the shores of Mad river, in the northwestern territory, now the state of Ohio, U. S. A. The child thus saved was named Mary, after her mother, and lived to be a strong, healthy woman of fine, large stature, nearly 20 stone in weight. She married James Bracy Oliver of Augusta Springs, Va., who came to Dayton in 1802. He on a pony stopped at the northeast corner of Fifth and Main, where a cabin stood in the wilderness, and asked: "How far is it to Dayton?" He was answered by Wilson: "Follow the trail around the pond and you will soon be in Dayton." The pond since was filled with logs. The courthouse marks the spot. "Uncle Jimmy," as he was afterwards called, so jolly was he, said: "When I arrived in town a big 2-story tavern greeted my view, and only a few 1-story cabins, and this was called Dayton, Northwestern Territory. I had my pony, saddle and 50 cents in my pocket and two good buffalo robes. I made my bed in the cabin and slept soundly. I laid on one robe and covered with the other."

Mary Hardman and James Bracy Oliver, her husband, lived a prosperous and happy life, raised six sons and five daughters and left a large estate. His first farm he sold to the Montgomery county commissioners for an infirmary, after A. D. 1820, and purchased lands north of the Soldiers' Home, where the brick house and log barn is standing, owned by William King. And they are buried in the family lot alongside the road; the graves are marked by four large stone ashlers set on edge, hooped with iron, marking the spot where the once little babe, who lived to see her grandchildren, was once saved from death by Tecumseh, near Fort Greenville, O. Many pass the spot thinking little of its historic lore. Uncle Jimmy and his wife passed away a full half a century ago, and this story has lain in manuscript fully 30 years, written in memory by the oldest grandson, who now resides at 629 Superior avenue, Dayton, O., in the same house where he

stood when a child of 12, between the jams in the chimney, nine feet square, more than 50 years ago, listening with fear and trembling, to the Indian stories told, as "Granny's tales about the Injuns," by Granny's own self as she knit and knit from morn till night.

Tecumseh's presence later at the treaty with the Indians by General Wayne at Fort Greenville, adds a historic link in his career.* He afterwards joined the British, and it is said that he is the only Indian that ever wore a British uniform up to his time.

He is the same little boy that Colonel Patterson is said to have captured at the mouth of Mad river when it emptied its waters into the Miami river, near St. Clair street. Doubtless Tecumseh's captivity in childhood taught him lessons in a higher civilization, which led him to be humane on special occasions only. Thus were the homes made in early days in the west, and thousands pass these historic spots, admiring the grain and growing crops in the great, broad, fertile fields and blooming clover, amid improvements grand and beautiful, inhabited by a good, great and generous people, many of whom have never heard of the traditions of that most fearful day, of those who were carving their homes in the wilderness.

* The author is here in error. Tecumseh was not at the Greenville Treaty. He refused to be present or take any part therein. — E. O. R.



INDIAN ATTACK ON FORT DUNLAP.

STEPHEN DECATER CONE.

[Mr. Cone is a resident of Hamilton, Ohio. During a long life he has been a student of Ohio history, has written many articles for publication and with Mr. Bert S. Bartlow was one of the co-editors of the Centennial History of Butler County. — EDITOR.]

In the far-famed Miami valley, nine miles below Hamilton, on the banks of the Miami river, more than one hundred and fourteen years ago, there occurred an incident of our pioneer annals that on account of its local character may be of interest to recount in these columns. We speak of the Indian attack upon Dunlap's station, later called Fort Dunlap, afterward Colerain, located upon the east bank of the Miami, just below the iron bridge crossing that river on the Colerain turnpike at Venice. It was a stirring event in the history of Hamilton county. It occurred on the 9th, 10th and 11th of January, 1791.

Dunlap's station was a military blockhouse, erected for the protection of a settlement of pioneers who went out from the garrison at Fort Washington to clear and settle the lands along the Big Miami. It was the custom for those whose lands were in the same neighborhood to unite, as one party or family.

Judge Burnet says: "Each party erected a strong blockhouse, near to which their cabins were put up, and the whole was enclosed by strong log pickets. This being done they commenced clearing their lands and preparing for planting their crops. During the day, while they were at work, one person was placed as sentinel to warn them of their approaching danger. At sunset they retired to the blockhouse and their cabins, taking everything of value within the pickets. In this manner they proceeded from day to day and from week to week, till their improvements were sufficiently extensive to support their families. During this time they depended for subsistence on wild game obtained at some hazard, more than on the scant supplies which they were able to procure from the settlement on the river.

"In a short time these stations gave protection and food to a large number of destitute families. After they were established the Indians became less annoying to the settlements on the Ohio, as part of their time was employed in watching the stations. They viewed these stations with great jealousy, as they had the appearance of permanent military establishments intended to retain possession of the country. In that they were correct, and it was fortunate for the country that the Indians wanted either the skill or the means to demolish them."

Just such an establishment was Dunlap's station. The fort was on the east side of the Big Miami, and was picketed on the three sides while the fourth was protected by the deep water of the stream. A small detachment of United States troops, under the command of Lieutenant Kingsbury, occupied the fort. It consisted of a corporal and eleven men, besides the commandant. Their names were Taylor, Neef, O'Neal, O'Leary, Lincoln, Grant, Strong, Sowers, Murphy, Abel, McVicar and Wiseman. There were on the north side of the fort, Horn, McDonald, Barrott and Barket, with their families, and on the south side, White, with his family, and McDonald, whose family was not at the station; all of whom were busy at their clearings during the day, but sought the shelter of the fort in the evenings.

The Indians numbered about three hundred and fifty and their leader was a renegade white man, infamously notorious as Simon Girty. There was present also a Shawnee chief of portly form, who was called Blue Jacket, who after the treaty of Greenville, talked with our informant of the incidents of the event, and who settled at, and it is believed died at Fort Wayne.

On the night of January 7, 1791, a surveying party consisting of Sloan, Hunt, Cunningham and Wallace, who were on an exploring tour, encamped on the west bank of the Big Miami. On the 8th (Saturday) after roasting and eating some venison, they set out to explore and survey the Miami bottoms opposite to, but in the neighborhood of, the fort. After having gone about seventy yards from camp, the Indian scouts fired a volley of eight or ten guns from their rear. Cunningham fell dead; Hunt's horse threw him, and he was made prisoner before he

could recover; Sloan was shot through the body, but sat on his horse and made off as fast as his horse could carry him, the loose horse (Hunt's) following him. Two Indians pursued him about a mile and a half, during which they shot at the pursued (Wallace) twice, but without effect. At the moment they fired they exulted over him by hallooing the first shot, he tripped and fell; "wou-ouh"; supposing they had gained their object—they would have got a first-rate rifle and scalp. He, however, overtook Sloan holding Hunt's horse, mounted him, and they made their way up the river and crossed over. Sloan now complained of faintness, from his wound, he was told to thrust his shirt in the bullet holes. They left the river and directed their course for Fort Washington. On traveling about six miles, they fell into the trace from Dunlap's station to Fort Washington. There they held a council; the result was to go to the station and inform the inhabitants to be on their guard. They reached the station about sunset. This night it rained, froze, and snow fell from four to five inches deep. It was not apprehended that the Indians were infesting the station in such numbers; it was supposed that the party had been fallen upon by a few stragglers only upon a predatory excursion, and on the 9th (Sunday) Wallace, with five or six of the garrison, crossed over to the bottoms and buried the dead body of Cunningham, without molestation, or seeing any evidence that there was a large hostile body in their neighborhood.

It was owing only to a lucky chance of vigilance, on the part of Lieutenant Kingsbury himself, that the fort was not taken by complete surprise. With soldier-like generosity he had yielded his quarters to the wounded Sloan, and on Sunday night he occupied himself by entertaining with lively stories and jocose anecdotes his small command, who were willing to forego their wonted repose and share in the forced vigilance of their commander. They had, however, retired to bed. The sentinels, to be sure, were duly posted, but it was apprehended that they had fallen into the arms of the dreamy god, since the alarm which it was theirs to give was first given by the commander himself. He, towards the dawn of Monday morning, indicated his resolution to the company, which had kept awake during the night in

the blockhouse, his purpose of seeking somewhere a place of repose. Leaving the blockhouse for this purpose, in the space of less than five minutes, he gave the alarm by clapping his hands and crying, "Indians! Indians!"

It indicates the security in which the garrison was, and how little they expected an attack, that all but the sentinels and the commandant were in bed. The alarm was received with incredulity, yet each man sprang to arms. It was found now that the small stockade was infested by a large body of savages, supposed at the time to number over five hundred. That number at least they claimed in the parley which succeeded. The prisoner (Abner Hunt, of New Jersey), who had been taken on Saturday, was put forth as interpreter, Girty, probably with some remnant of shame, not choosing to show himself. The surrender of the garrison was demanded—the terms promised were so equivocal that Lieutenant Kingsbury, like General Taylor on a subsequent similar occasion, was compelled to decline, as respectfully as he could, compliance with the imperious demand. The parley between Kingsbury, leaning over the pickets, and the prisoner Hunt, pinioned without and held by Girty, who was lying concealed behind a tree, lasted about an hour. This passed on the east side of the fort. Meanwhile the soldiers on the west side, as often as a savage would peep from the shelter of a dead log tree, would crack at him with their muskets, and some undoubtedly were killed, for the remains of two were afterward discovered, while others were removed and buried by their savage associates. Girty, through his interpreter, complained, "What sort of a treaty is this, where you keep up a constant fire pending the parley?" The commandant turned around, and with a soldierly oath, threatened instant death to the next one that fired a musket, but took care to add, *sotto voice*, "**Kill the rascals, if you can.**"

The end of the parley was succeeded by incessant volleys of musketry from the assailants, which lasted over two hours, when they retired to recruit, threatening to return in the evening to carry all by storm. The garrison was illy provided with ammunition, having only twenty-four rounds of cartridges per man, and no ordnance: none was therefore to be wasted; though the

women, to remedy the scarcity of ammunition, cast their pewter plates and spoons into bullets. The enemy renewed the attack in the afternoon with musketry, and also by bows and arrows, firing brands within the stockade with the hope of firing the fort. The volleys were continued during the evening, interrupted by moments of parley through the prisoner Hunt, who earnestly begged on his own behalf the surrender of the garrison, because he was threatened with a death of horribly lingering torture. About midnight they retired to execute the threat. The prisoner was nearly stripped naked, laid upon the ground, and pinioned by his wrists and ankles, his arms and legs outstretched in a most painful manner. They then built a fire upon his naked abdomen. His groans were distinctly heard by the garrison during the remainder of that sad night becoming fainter and fainter, till about daybreak, they finally ceased.

When morning dawned the Indians returned to the attack, and continued their firing for a half hour or more. It was a crisis which tried the souls of the little garrison as well as their valiant commander.

The fort was completely infested by the Indians, and the attack most violent. They began the fight like they were certain of victory, and the garrison, while bravely repelling the attacks, considered itself in extreme danger. The Indians, however, finally despairing of success, and apprehensive of reinforcements arriving, abandoned the enterprise and withdrew.

The fort was entirely of wood, consisting of a few block-houses and cabins, with a line of pickets, and was particularly exposed to the assaults, as the cabins, contrary to the usual and proper plan, presented the low edges of their roofs outside, some of them being so low, that, it is stated a dog which had been shut out of the station, leaped from a stump outside onto the roof of one of the cabins. During the siege the most active efforts of the assailants were directed to setting the roofs of the buildings on fire, both by fire-arrows and by carrying brands of fire. One Indian ran with a burning brand to a building which he had nearly reached, when a volley stretched him lifeless. When the Indians retreated, as their tracks showed, they filed off, right and left from the fort.

The little garrison, though but a handful compared with their assailants, displayed great bravery, in some instances amounting to rashness. During the firing, they frequently exposed their persons above the tops of the pickets, mocking the savages and daring them to come on. Women, as well as men, used every expedient in their power to provoke and irritate the enemy. They exhibited the caps of the soldiers above the pickets, as a mark to be shot at.

Their apparent confidence in their security, when subjected to the gravest danger, may have had the tendency to induce the Indians to abandon the siege as soon as they did.

Accounts differ as to how word was received at Fort Washington of the attack. One account, that given by Judge Burnet, states that John S. Wallace, who had made his escape from the Indians on the eighth, was still in the fort. It is said that at ten o'clock at night during the attack of the Indians he made an effort to pass through the Indian lines and go to Cincinnati for the purpose of obtaining re-enforcements from General Harmar, at Fort Washington, but finding the Indians encompassing him on every side, he was obliged to return. Fortunately the night happened to be very dark, and at three in the morning Wallace, accompanied by a soldier named William Wiseman, got into a canoe on the side of the fort next to the water's edge, and silently paddled across and landed on the opposite bank, from whence they took to the bushes, and made their way down the river and took the woods for Cincinnati. When about five or six miles out from that place they met a party of soldiers, under General John S. Gano, from Columbia, and returned with them to the station.

Another account states that Lieutenant Kingsbury endeavored to induce several old veterans, by the promise of a reward, to go to Fort Washington to give the alarm and bring relief, but in vain. This was overheard by a young stripling of eighteen years, who had been relieved just then from duty outside all night, but who was allowed the relief of watching through a port-hole a crafty warrior who, behind a tree, was endeavoring by several tricks to draw his fire and allow him an opportunity to escape. The commandant's declaration that he could induce no

one to go, surprised him, and he volunteered to go provided the officer would parade the garrison in front of the blockhouse and let them see him across the river. It is related that this was done, and in broad daylight (ten o'clock A. M.) amid the volleys of musketry of the Indian assailants, the young man, alone in the canoe, succeeded in setting himself across the river, and, regaining the opposite bank, he took his course with all speed down the stream; and after stripping off and making two attempts to wade, in vain, concluded he must make the best way to North Bend—but in the course of two or three hundred yards further he fortunately discovered the fording place, which he was enabled to pass without finding it more than knee deep. About three o'clock P. M. he reported himself to General Harmar, the commandant at Fort Washington, with the news of the critical state of things at Dunlap's station.

It is related that General Harmar dispatched a message to Columbia, for re-enforcements, which arrived at Fort Washington that evening, or the next morning. A force of about fifty regulars and militia were dispatched on Wednesday morning, under the command of Colonel Strong, which, guided by William Wiseman (for that was the name of the young hero) reached the infested post soon after noon. The Indians, aware of the force advancing against them, speedily raised the siege and retreated up the river, the last raft crossing the stream as Colonel Strong came in sight. Finding it impossible to pursue them without the means of crossing the river, he returned to Cincinnati.

These accounts are probably both colored in the interest of the two men, Wallace and Wiseman. One seeks to make Wallace the hero, but mentions Wiseman as accompanying him on the journey. The other gives Wiseman all the credit, and makes no mention of Wallace. Perhaps the most accurate account is that related by Thomas Irwin, who was one of the early pioneers of Butler county, having settled near Blue Ball, and for fourteen years represented Butler county in the Ohio legislature. At the time of the attack of Fort Dunlap, Mr. Irwin, who then lived in Cincinnati, states that a hunter by the name of Cox, afterward one of the first to take up lands in Union township, Butler

county, happened to be out hunting in the neighborhood of Dunlap's Station, and hearing the firing of the guns suspected the cause and went to Cincinnati and informed the commandant at Columbia and Fort Washington. A volunteer force of thirty-eight men, of whom Irwin was one, turned out immediately. The same number of men were taken from the regulars, the whole being placed under the command of Captain Truman; and about twenty volunteers from Columbia, under command of Captain Gano, started before daylight the next morning for Dunlap's Station, all on horseback, for the relief of the place.

John Riley, afterwards a clerk of the court of Butler county, and Patrick Moore, who also settled in Butler county, were in the party, and both rode white horses, and preceded a short distance in advance, as picket guard, or spies, to give notice if the enemy should appear. Samuel Davis, afterward a resident of Wayne township, Butler county, was also one of the volunteers from Cincinnati on that occasion. When the party had proceeded about six miles, they met Wallace and Wiseman on their way to Fort Washington, to tell the news of the attack. Finding that the news had preceded them they turned about and accompanied the relief party to the station.

About ten o'clock the party arrived at the top of the hill, which overlooks the plain on which Dunlap's Station was situated, when it was discovered the Indians had abandoned the siege and gone. On arriving at the fort, it was found that the garrison, though in imminent danger, had sustained but little injury. On the first fire, the Indians fired into a building where the hand mill was kept, between the logs which had not been chunked, by which they killed one man and wounded another. The body of Abner Hunt was found near the station, shockingly mangled,—his brains beaten out, two war clubs laid across his breast, and a blazing firebrand placed in his bowels.

Dunlap's station was soon after abandoned on account of its exposed danger to the excursions of the savage foe. Both the settlers and military left it, inasmuch as in the attack, which we have been describing the Indians had destroyed the accumulations of the preceding season, and a scene of wild ruin and desolation was spread around. The houses of many, besides those whose

names we have given, who had provided dwellings which they purposed to occupy in the spring, shared in the common conflagration and ruin, and the panic for awhile retarded the settlement of a locality now among the most flourishing and peaceful in the state of Ohio.



THE ANCESTRY OF THE OHIOAN.

A. M. COURTENAY, D. D.

[The following is a portion of an address delivered in Zanesville by Rev. Courtenay, who for many years has been an enthusiastic student of Ohio history, upon which subject he has delivered many admirable addresses. He has written frequently in prose and in verse for current reviews, magazines and journals. He wrote for and read at the Ohio Centennial Celebration the poem entitled "The Ohio Century." — EDITOR.]

At a recent notable assembly in one of Ohio's universities, a revered bishop paid tribute to the greatness of the state, which he ascribed to its New England origin. This he did without qualification, as a compliment, in a confidence as naive and undoubting as emphatic. No axiom could be carved in harder outline. He evidently believed that the Northwest Territory was peopled from Connecticut's "Western Reserve;" or if there were among its settlers a few stragglers from less favored regions, they were obscure, insignificant, and soon dominated by the persuasive Yankee notions

It was not strange speech. Indeed, its tone was familiar to those who have long been accustomed to hear and read assertions from our Down-East brethren — persistent as the "flood of years from an exhaustless urn" — to the effect that everything good and great in our civilization is, like the "pants" advertised by an enterprising Boston firm, stamped "Plymouth Rock."

None will question the potency of Puritan ideas, or the vigor and moral value of the Pilgrims. The contribution by New England of genius, of virtue, to the growth of the Republic in letters, state-craft, commerce, invention, reform, religion, is a fact so far beyond dispute that her sons supererogate in constant affirmation. We all cheerfully admit that our Yankee brother has enriched the national life with every good element — except modesty. Yet he had no option on all the virtues and valors. It would be well to consider a few things, such as the first settlement was in Virginia; the first legislative assembly of white men

on this continent was at Jamestown 1619; the first ordinance of religious liberty was in Maryland; the first Declaration of Independence was made at Mecklenburg, in the Carolinas; the first tea thrown overboard was from the Peggy Stewart, in Annapolis harbor; the first steamboat floated on the Potomac; the first railroad was at Baltimore. Of course, this only means that each section may play an Oliver to the other's Roland.

In the case of Ohio, one may enter a bill of exceptions, to wit, that the marvelous development of this most typical of American states is due, not alone, nor even chiefly, to its New England blood, but to that mingling of vital currents which has made strong the heart of the Commonwealth.

This will be obvious to a slight scrutiny of the colonization of the Territory. The whole Western country passed by cession of conquest to Great Britain in 1763, and thence to the United States in 1783. But while the paper title was thus wrested from the French by the English and in turn by the Americans from the British, the original occupants, the Indians, who were not party to these compacts, held the land by the "nine points of law" until dispossessed by the steady pressure of the frontiersmen from beyond the Alleghenies. The final writ of ejectment was served by a posse under General Anthony Wayne, consisting of two thousand United States regulars, and fifteen hundred Kentucky mounted volunteers, at the battle of Fallen Timbers, in 1794, when the savages suffered a defeat from which they never rallied. Thus the new Canaan had long allured the tribes of our Israel; eager with desires awakened by those spies, the hunters and traders, who brought back reports of an "exceeding good land;" yet they were withheld their forty years from entering and possessing it by fear of the "sons of Anak." When, however, the sword of the Lord and of Wayne hewed the way, population poured into the land like floods, gathering to and radiating from five centers of settlement on the Ohio, the Lake, or the border of Pennsylvania, whence the natives were already expelled.

These five nerve centers of the nascent state were in the order of time as follows:

1. The "Ohio Company," formed in Connecticut, purchased 1,500,000 acres, and in April, 1788, settled their colony about the

mouth of the Muskingum, with Fort Harmar, now Marietta, as their citadel. It was a notable society. Many of its people were Revolutionary officers, and the most possessed intelligence and education. They and their descendants have cut a broad, deep mark in the history of the state.

2. The "Symmes Purchase" of 311,622 acres was negotiated by a New Jersey company of twenty-four gentlemen, headed by Judge John Cleves Symmes, a member of Congress from that state. In November, 1788, the first settlement was made by a party of twenty at a spot within the present limits of Cincinnati. This was a brood of the "blue hen's chickens"; but a considerable contingent from Kentucky soon moved into the region. Thus the basis was formally New Jersian, with its mixture of Scotch-Irish and Hollanders, but actually there was a vast majority of Virginians.

3. The "Virginia Military District" consisted of 3,000,000 acres, ranging north from the Ohio, between the Scioto and Miami Rivers, and was reserved by the Old Dominion to satisfy the land warrants issue to its soldiers of the Revolution. Its first settlements were at Manchester in 1791, and at Chillicothe in 1796, which latter became not only the center of this projection of Virginia into Ohio, but to a good degree of the political and social life of the whole Territory in the earlier years. It was the seat of the first legislatures, and of the capital until 1813. In this region the first tide of population was partly Marylandic, but mostly Virginian, in two streams; that of the hardy backwoodsmen who had earlier crossed the Alleghenies from the valleys of the Upper Potomac and Shenandoah, and built their cabins on the Cheat and Monongahela as far as Redstone, which was the head of navigation to the "Western waters," and that of the settlers who had already entered Kentucky by way of the southern passes through the Blue Ridge. They were of the usual pioneer type, but with them came families of substance and cultivation, who moved direct from the Old Dominion, who brought with them their colonial furniture, silver teapots, silks and laces with a touch of old world dignity and courtesy. Such were the Tiffins, Worthingtons and Massies. They were largely influenced by conscience against slavery, for the Jeffersonian idea of its evil was then prev-

alent in the South. Tiffin freed his slaves, valued at \$5,000 (a full half of his wealth), and brought them into that Northwest Territory, which was "consecrated to freedom."

4. The "Western Reserve" was a strip of land equal to 1,800,000 acres, extending from the border of Pennsylvania along Lake Erie. Its colonists were mainly from Connecticut, which state had reserved this tract in making over to the General Government its rights and claims in the Western country. The first settlement was made at Cleveland in 1796. Its foundations were hewn from the granitic rock of New England Calvinism.

5. The "Seven Ranges" consisted of a tract extending from the Pennsylvania line between the Ohio Company on the south and the Western Reserve on the north. Its lands were the first ever sold by the United States out of the public domain, and the purchasers were a few native-born Quakers, some Germans of the stock which has produced the variety known as "Pennsylvania Dutch," and many Scotch-Irish, which body nearly pre-empted and still largely controls Southwestern Pennsylvania.

No mention need be made of two curious and tragic attempts at settlement; that of the French colony at the site of Gallipolis, because it was insignificant and evanescent; and that of the Moravian missionaries, because there were few white families, and all were swept from the face of the earth in a massacre, not by red men but white, and not by British or French, be it said to our shame, but Americans.

Now these five centers of life were long isolated by vast forests before the era of roads, and engrossed by the severe labor of subduing the wilderness, with little need or chance for travel, or any form of commercial and literary intercourse. They differed widely in custom, training, prevailing idea, and religious cultus. And it was long before social fusion began. Ultimately all were subdued to a predominant type, while there are still marked characteristics in the various sections, traceable rather in the domesticities than the publicities.

Despite, however, minor differences, the state has attained social solidarity, and uniformity of educational system, of legal procedure, of political aspiration, through the weaving process of ceaseless interchange of business, literary and religious inter-

ests. This has tended to the obliteration of individuality in the sections, but marks of the original variation nevertheless distinguish each; for example, Southern Ohio from Northern, as clearly as the New England of today from those commonwealths known — in a phrase now happily historic only — as the “Border States.”

It is the mingling of these diverse elements into a new compound which has enriched Ohio. And it is to be noted that here first occurred the blend of native bloods, which has since continued on so vast a scale throughout the West. Up to the close of the eighteenth century the colonies on the Atlantic coast were separate. Their people mingled little. They were as diverse as the English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish. But from them all poured streams of people into that fair land which lies between the Lake and the “beautiful river” — the gateway of the West — and the children of Puritan and Cavalier, Hollander and Huguenot, Teuton and Scotch-Irish, married and begot a new race. Moreover, just as the early migrants from Europe were a picked people, so their descendants who crossed the Alleghanies were especially brave, hardy, and enterprising. The seed-plot was fertile, and the shoots choice, which by cross-fertilization have produced the Ohio stock.

No one section can claim a monopoly, or even a controlling interest, in Ohio's greatness. This is the more apparent when we examine the scroll of her famous men. It will be found that they have arisen with an astonishing impartiality from all quarters and conditions. Thus of the thirty-three governors, up to 1890, twelve came from the South, twelve from New England, three from Pennsylvania and six were born in Ohio of Scotch-Irish, Welsh, or Irish ancestry.

Again, consider the following list of fifty-two other distinguished children of the state, viz: Tiffin, Worthington, Symmes, Corwin, Ewing, Lytle, Piatt, the Cary sisters, Coates Kinney, Howells, Whitelaw Reid, S. S. Cox, Powers and Ward, the sculptors; the Coxes, Tourgee, George Kennan, McGahan, Giddings, Wade, Chase, Stanton, Waite, Ormsby, Mitchel, Edison, Brush, the Shermans, the Ammens, Rosecrans, Sheridan, McDowell, Custer, McPherson, the Presidents Harrison, Grant, Hayes, Garfield,

McKinley, and the Churchmen Durbin, Simpson, Foster, Harris, Merrill, Walden, Joyce, McCabe, Cranston, Thoburn. Of these the tally runs, New England eleven, Virginia and Kentucky eleven, Scotch-Irish eight, Dutch two, New Jersey three, New York two, Irish three, French one, Canadian one, and unknown ten. If to these we add the fifteen "fighting McCooks," then the tale of this strenuous Scotch-Irish race must be advanced to twenty-three in the foremost rank, from which have sprung most of the war leaders.

Further, it can not be established that any section produced the great men of any particular profession or pursuit. In fact, this survey disproves Howell's generalization that "the South gave Ohio perhaps her foremost place in war and politics; but her enlightenment in other things was from the North." Moreover, in the two things whereof this claim has been urged — viz., the contest against slavery and for equal rights for all races, and the effort to establish public schools — it will be found from an examination of the records of the legislature that the pioneers of civilization were from all quarters. Indeed, it is more than probable, though not capable of demonstration in the absence of complete biographies, that Ohio's greatest men, the finest products of her powers, came from mingled strains.

Rawlinson has said that "it is admitted by ethnologists that the mixed races are superior to the pure ones." It is true, with the qualification that the law acts within the limits of a similar origin, as in the case of the Greeks, the Romans, the British, and above all, the Americans. Thus Tennyson sings, "Saxon and Norman and Dane are we," and he might have added, if the exigencies of verse had permitted: Celt and Gaul, French Huguenot, and German Palatine.

And one of our own poets recited, on the Nation's century, these elements of our new type: Scottish thrift, Irish humor, German steadfastness, French vivacity, Scandinavian patience and English moral worth; declaring of the genius of America:

"In his form and features still
The unblenching Puritan will,
Cavalier honor, Huguenot grace,
The Quaker truth and sweetness,

And the strength of the danger-girdled race
Of Holland, blend in a proud completeness.

* * * * *

And broad-based under all
Is England's oaken-hearted mood,
So rich is fortitude."

This lyric of our race is true in its highest terms of the Ohioan, the first product of the new type, whose vital currents have been mixtured and enriched of so many noble elements.

Mr. Thomas E. Watson, who has achieved more fame and success as an author than a Presidential candidate, having written admirably on Napoleon and on Jefferson, says in the preface to his life of the latter: "Southern men of the old regime were not given to the writing of books, and when the man of N. E. [New England] strode forward, pen in hand, and nominated himself custodian of our national archives and began to compile the record, nobody seriously contested the office. Thus it happened inevitably that N. E. [New England] got handsome treatment in our national histories. She deserved good treatment. Her record is one of glory. No patriotic American would detract from her merit, but her history is not the history of the whole Union," and it may be added, her point of view is not the only vision for estimate.



CINCINNATI—A CIVIC ODE.

WILLIAM HENRY VENABLE.

[Professor William Henry Venable ranks among the first of Ohio's most honored educators and authors. For many years he was professor in the High Schools of Cincinnati. His published works embrace history, poetry, literature and fiction. He has been a devoted student of the literature of the Ohio Valley. He delivered the address on Ohio Literary Men and Women at the Ohio Centennial celebration, Chillicothe, May 20, 1903. His splendid ode herewith printed was recited by his son, Professor Emerson Venable, at the banquet given by the Cincinnatians at the Queen City Club, Friday evening, November 29, 1907, to the delegates to the Central Ohio Valley Historical Conference.—EDITOR.]

I.

O not unsung, not unrenowned,
Ere brave Saint Clair to his reward had gone,
Or yet from yond the ample bound
Of green Ohio's hunting ground
Tecumseh faced the Anglo-Saxon dawn,
My City Beautiful was throned and crowned;
Then all Hesperia confest,
With jubilant acclaim,
Her sovereign and inviolable name,
Queen of the West!

II.

Upon the proud young bosom she was nursed,
Of the Republic, in the wild
Security of God's primeval wood:
Illustrious Child!
By Liberty begotten, first
Of all that august civic sisterhood
Born since the grand Ordain of Eighty-Seven
Promulged its mandatory plevin,
Which fain had reconciled
Human decretals and the voice of Heaven.

III.

Baptismal sponsors gave
Her virtuous patronymical and brave,
 From hoary chronicle and legend caught,
 And blazon of that laureled son of Mars,
 Whose purple heraldry of scars,
 (From fields of valorous duty brought,) v
Enriched patrician Rome with dower
Of ancient honorable power.
 The half-tradition old
 Of Cincinnatus told,
Who cast aside the victor's brand and took
In peaceful grasp the whetted pruning-hook,
And drave the plowshare through the furrowed mold,
Was golden legend unto Washington
And his compeers in patriotic arms,
 Who flung the sword and musket down,
 (Their martial fields of glory won,)
Shouldered the ax and spade,
To wage a conquering crusade
Against brute forces and insensate foes:
 Beseiged the stubborn shade,
 Subdued their savage farms,
 Builded the busy town,
And bade the desert blossom as the rose.

IV.

Upprew a fair Emporium beside
Ohio's amber flood, as by the yellow tide
Of storied Tiber sprung, of yore,
 On lowland and acropolis,
The elder world's metropolis,
 Along the imperial shore!

V.

Yet not of Latian swarm were they
Who hived the early honey of the West;
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They boasted Borean sires of strenuous clay;
Long-striding men of soldierly broad breast,
Of dauntless brain and all-achieving hands,
Fetched out of British and Teutonic lands,
Schooled for command by knowing to obey,
Inured to fight and disciplined to pray,
Columbian leaders of potential sway,
Survivors of the European Best!

VI.

With brand desire and purpose vast,
To purge from dross the metal true,
And pour the seven-times-molten Past
In perfect patterns of the New,
They led the migratory van;
And every hero carried in his heart
The constitution and politic chart,
The code, the creed, the high-imagined plan
Of that Ideal State whereunto wend
The hopeful dreams of universal man,
And whither all the ages tend.

VII.

Such the stock adventure brought
Over Allegheny ranges,
By the Revolution taught
War and Fortune's bitter changes:
They hewed the forest jungle, broke
The wild, reluctant plain;
With rhythmic sinews, stroke on stroke,
They cradled in the grain;
The masted barge on gliding keel
Rich bales of traffic bore;
The laden steamer's cataract wheel
Befoamed the River shore;
Anon, as rolls the thunder-peal,
As glares the lightning flame,

O'er trammled miles of outspun steel
The Locomotive came!—
Electron's viewless messengers, more fleet
Than herald Mercury of wingéd feet,
Far-flashing, multiplied the thrilling word,
Freedom! and Freedom!—Freedom, evermore!—
Which all the Appalachian echoes heard
And broad Atlantic's rumorous billows bore
Persuasive to his utmost peopled shore,
Tempting shrewd Mammon, and with louder voice
Bidding courageous Poverty rejoice:
Then Westward ho! the Movers found their goal,
Ohio, thine auspicious Metropole!—
Nor landmark-trees blazed by his hatchet blade,
Nor scanty bounds by Filson's chain surveyed,
Might longer then suffice as border-line;
Not Eastern Row nor Western, could confine
Emption of homestead, or sequestered hold
Salubrious Mohawk's northward-spreading wold:
A century's growth, down crashed the 'builder Oak,'
The quarry from Silurian slumber woke,
The town, advancing, saw the farms retreat.
The turnpike rumbled, now a paven street:—
With bold and eager Emulation rode
Young Enterprise; keen Industry and Wealth
Sought new employ and prosperous abode
With blithe Success and robust Hope and Health,
In verdant vale where through Dameta flowed,
Or high upon the crofts and bowery hills,
Above the gardens and the rural mills
Of Mahketewa's brook and affluent rills:
Their palaces adorned each rampart green,
Their cottages in every dell were seen,
O'er which the well-belovéd. Queen
Holds chartered reign
And eminent domain!

VIII.

Today wouldst thou behold
What ensigns of magnificence and might
Her spacious realms of urban grandeur show?
Choose for thy belvedere some foreland bold,
 Auburn, or Echo, or ærial height
Of Sun-clad Edens' blossomy plateau:—
There bid thy wildered gaze
Explore the checquered maze,
Unending street, innumerable square,
 Park, courtyard, terrace, fountain, esplanade,
Gay boulevard and thronging thoroughfare,
 Far villas peering out from bosky shade,
Cliff-clambering roads and shimmering waterways:
Lo, Architecture here and Sculpture vie
With rival works of carven wonder shown
In sumptuous granite and marmorean stone;
Behold stupendous where proud citadels
Of legionary Trade aspire the sky,
And where Religion's sanctuaries raise
Their domed and steepled votive splendors high:
(Upon the hush of Sabbath morning swells
How sweet their chime of tolerant bells!)

IX.

Seen dimly over many a rooey mile,
Where hills obscure environ vales remote,
Rise colonnaded stacks of chimney pile,
 Above whose dusky summits float
Pennons of smoke, like signal flags unfurled
Atop their truce-proclaiming towers,
By the allied triumphal powers
Of Science, Labor and mechanic Skill,
Subduing nature to man's godlike will;
Forth yonder myriad factories are whirled,
By steam and lightning's aid,
Invention's yield perpetual, conveyed

Beyond strange seas to buy the bartered world!—
Hark, the hoarse whistle, and dull, distant roar
Of rumbling freight-trains, ponderous and slow,
Monsters of iron joint, which come and go
Obedient to the watchful semaphore
That curbs their guided course along the shore.
Edged by the margin of the southern River:
Now golden gleam, now silvern flash and quiver
The molten mirrors of its burnished tide
Wherever costly argosies of Commerce ride!

X.

Thrice-happy City, dearest to my heart,
Who, showering benison upon her own,
Endows her opulent material mart
With lavish purchase from each ransacked zone,
Yet ne'er forgot exchange of rarer kind,
By trade-winds from all ports of Wisdom blown—
Imperishable merchandise of Mind:
Man may not live by bread alone,
But every word of God shall be made known!—
Thy voyagers of Argonaut,
Enriched with dazzling ransom of their toil
In ravaged Colchis, costlier guerdon brought
As trophy home than prize of golden spoil:
Gems from the trove of Truth, for ages sought,
Precious beyond appraise in sordid fee;
Audit of Culture, treasury of Art:
Whate'er the Daughters of Mnemosyne
In templed grove of Academe impart:
Heroic Song, Philosophy divine,
Precept oracular, Narration old,
Or aught by sage Antiquity extolled,
Or murmured at Apollo's lucent shrine.
Here Education rounds a cosmic plan,
Enough omnipotent aye to create
From nebulous childhood, ordered worlds of man,
Evolving Scholar, Citizen, and State.

Each liberal science, every craft austere,
 All sedulous joys of book and pen are here,
 Delights that charm the reason or engage
 Imagination's quickened eye or ear:—
 Pencil of limner, sculptor's cunning steel,
 And whirling marvel of Palissy's wheel;—
 Drama, in pomp of gorgeous equipage,
 Ostends upon the applauded stage
 Phantasmagoria of the living Age;
 And, by celestial votaries attended,
 Impassioned Music, from the spheres descended,
 Abiding here in the tutelar control,
 Commands orchestral diapasons pour
 Exalted figue and symphony along
 Resounding aisle and bannered corridor;
 Or, while the organ's mellow thunders roll,
 She bids enraptured voices thrill the soul
 With heaven-born harmony of choral song!

XI.

O Cincinnati! whom the Pioneers,
 How many weary lustrums long ago,
 With orisons and dedicated tears,
 Blest, kneeling when the pure December snow
 Melted, for pity, into drops of Spring,
 My heart renews their throbbing fervor now,
 Their toil, their love, their hope, remembering,
 I breathe their patriotic ardor and their vow,
 Their exultation and prophetic faith I sing!—
 For they were Freedom's vanguard, and they bore
 Her starry flag and led her empire West,
 Ere yet the wounds of sacrificial war
 Had healed upon thy Mother-Country's breast;
 Courageous they and loyal! evermore
 Bold for The people! valorous and strong
 Against embattled Myrmidons of Wrong:
 Forever honorable, true, and just!
 Historical years above their crumbling dust,

On wings of peace and wings of war have flown.
Returning Aprils green and grateful sod
There where with hands that knew the ax to wield
They pledged a log-hewn temple unto God
Or ere they thrice had husked the ripened field
Or promised harvest o'er the tilth had sown:
Seers, Legislators, Politicians, these,
From ancestors indomitable sprung!
Who, as with brawn of sinewy grip they swung
Their polished helms and launcht the steely edge,
Invading so the monarchy of trees,
Or smote with ponderous maul the iron wedge—
Labored meanwhile within the spacious Mind,
Planning and building, for their fellow-kind,
Futurity colossal, on the vast
Foundations of immemorial past.

* * *

COMMENTARY ON CINCINNATI ODE.

BY AUTHOR OF THE POEM.

I.

1. SAINT CLAIR. General Arthur St. Clair (1734-1818), a friend and comrade of George Washington, was an officer in the American army during the Revolutionary War; was president of Congress in 1787; governor of the North-West Territory from 1789 to 1802, living in Cincinnati eleven years, 1790-1801. His mansion, the first brick house built in the Miami settlement, stood on the southwest corner of Eighth and Main streets.

2. TECUMSEH. Tecumseh, a Shawnee Indian chief, famed for his courage and eloquence, was born near the site of the city of Springfield, Ohio, in the year 1768. He made persistent effort to unite the aboriginal red tribes against their white, American foes, and joined the British troops when the war of 1812 was in progress. Tecumseh was killed in the battle of the Thames, Canada, Oct. 5, 1813.

3. QUEEN OF THE WEST. The name "Queen of the West" was applied to Cincinnati early in the history of the town. Some of Benjamin Drake's "Tales and Sketches of the Queen City" were contributed to the Cincinnati Literary Gazette as long ago as 1824. Ten years later, Charles Fenno Hoffman, in his book "A Winter in the West," employs

the nomination as if it were then in familiar use. Longfellow gave world-wide celebrity to the soubriquet by introducing it into his lyric entitled "Catawba Wine," singing of

"The Queen of the West
In her garlands drest,
On the banks of the beautiful river."

II.

4. UPON THE PROUD YOUNG BOSOM SHE WAS NURSED.

Of the Republic. Cincinnati was founded in 1788, the year in which the American Republic was organized, and only twelve years subsequent to the date of the Declaration of Independence.

5. BY LIBERTY BEGOTTEN, FIRST.

Of all that august civic sisterhood. The two settlements, Columbia, near the mouth of the Little Miami, and Losantiville, opposite the mouth of the Licking, were begun, respectively, November 18 and December 28, 1788, nearly six months after the enactment of the ordinance of 1787. The young city was not incorporated until 1802.

6. PROMULGATED ITS MANDATORY PLEDGE. The Ordinance of 1787 was at once an organic law and a political promise. Of that notable document Daniel Webster used these memorable words: "We are accustomed to praise the law-givers of antiquity; we help perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus; but I doubt whether one single law of any law-giver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787. We see its consequences at this moment, and we shall never cease to see them, perhaps, while the Ohio shall flow."

III.

7. AND BLAZON OF THAT LAURELED SON OF MARS. Lucius Quincticus, surnamed Cincinnatus, or the "crisp-haired," a Roman dictator and legendary hero, is thought to have been born about 519 B. C. The tradition goes that, while on his farm beyond the Tiber, he was summoned from the plow to take command of an army which defended Rome from invading enemies; and that, after thus serving his country, he laid aside the sword and returned to his husbandry. The "Order of Cincinnati," named in admiration of this Roman general, was organized in 1784 by officers of the Revolutionary Army, Washington being its first president. In recognition of this organization General St. Clair, in 1790, bestowed the name "Cincinnati" upon the hamlet opposite the mouth of the Licking, which, up to that time, had borne the name "Losantiville," given in 1788 by John Filson, one of its founders.

IV.

8. ON LOWLAND AND ACROPOLIS. "The ranges of hills bordering these extensive plains, * * * being variously diversified by streams and rivulets, lying at different distances from the town, and having a dense covering of trees, afford a pleasant termination to the view. From Newport or Covington the appearance of the town is beautiful; and, at a future period, when the streets shall be graded from the hill to the river shore, promises to become magnificent."—Daniel Drake, in his *Picture of Cincinnati*, published in 1815.—"The first impression upon touching the quays at Cincinnati, and looking up its spacious avenues, terminating always in green acclivities which bound the city, is exceedingly beautiful."—Charles Fenno Hoffman's *A Winter in the West*, 1835.

VII.

9. THE MASTED BARGE ON GLIDING KEEL. Ohio River barges of the early period were provided with a mast amidship, carrying square sails and topsails, and they somewhat resembled small ocean schooners.

10. THE LADEN STEAMER'S CATARACT WHEEL. The first steamboat on the Ohio River, the "Orleans," was built by Nicholas J. Roosevelt, a brother of President Roosevelt's grandfather, at Pittsburg, and her trial trip was made from that city to New Orleans in 1812.

11. THE LOCOMOTIVE CAME. The work of constructing the first railroad from Cincinnati was commenced in 1837. The road crept slowly up the Little Miami. In December, 1841, the track had been laid only from Fulton to Milford, a distance of fifteen miles. The next year the road reached Fosters. In July, 1844, the first cars were seen at Deerfield, now South Lebanon, and before the close of the summer they were at the mouth of Todd's Fork. In August, 1845, the road was completed to Xenia, and on the tenth day of August, ten years after the road was chartered, the first train reached Springfield."—Josiah Morrow, in his sketch of the life of Governor Jeremiah Morrow, p. 73.

12. ELECTRON'S VIEWLESS MESSENGERS. A line of Morse's electric telegraph, connecting Baltimore with Washington, was brought into operation in 1844. The wire was slowly stretched westward, and, on August 21, 1847, the first dispatch to Cincinnati was flashed.

13. FREEDOM AND FREEDOM!—FREEDOM, EVERMORE! That Cincinnati was consecrated to Liberty from the first is strikingly attested by an early Virginia clergyman, Rev. James Smith, who, visiting in Ohio in 1795, wrote in his Journal, on Sunday, September 5, of that year: "We are now in full view of the beautiful and flourishing town of Cincinnati, most delightfully situated on the bank of 'the most beautiful river on earth.' This large and populous town has risen almost instantaneously from nothing, it being (as I was told) only four years since it was all in woods. Such is the happy effect of that government in which every

trace of vassalage is rooted out and destroyed. To a real republican, as I am, how grateful, how pleasing the sight which I now behold. To a man weary of slavery and the consequent evils attending it, what pleasing reflections must arise."—*Ohio Arch. and Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XVI, p. 376.

14. BIDDING COURAGEOUS POVERTY REJOICE. "It was not to Montmirail they were going—it was to America. They were not flying to the sound of the trumpet of war—they were hurrying from misery and starvation. In a word, it was a family of poor Alsatian peasants who were emigrating. They could not obtain a living in their native land, but had been promised one in Ohio."—From Victor Hugo's "The Rhine," quoted by C. L. Martzloff, in his history of Perry County, Ohio.—"The poor man (ungoverned, can govern himself), shoulders his axe and walks into the Western woods, sure of a nourishing earth and an overarching sky! It is the very Door of Hope to distracted Europe."—Thomas Carlyle, in a letter to Emerson.

15. NOR SCANTY BOUNDS BY FILSON'S CHAIN SURVEYED. John Filson (See note 7), whose versatility enabled him to become successively a teacher, an historian, an explorer and a surveyor, drew the first plan of Cincinnati, or, as he called it, Losantiville. The original name of what is now Plum street, was Filson avenue. The Filson Club, of Louisville, Ky., is named in honor of this pioneer of enterprise and of letters, who well deserves to be remembered by the Queen City.

16. NOT EASTERN ROW NOR WESTERN. The old name, Eastern Row, was changed to Broadway; Western Row, to Central Avenue; and Northern Row, to Seventh Street.

17. SALUBRIOUS MOHAWK'S NORTHWARD-SPREADING WORLD. Mohawk village, a once well-known hill-top suburb of Cincinnati, was on Hamilton road, now McMicken Avenue. Here, as we learn from an essay by Elizabeth Haven Appleton, "Mrs. Frances Trollope, in 1828, had her home in a farm house on the edge of the primeval forest which clad the country for many miles."—See volume in memory of Elizabeth Haven Appleton, edited by Eugene F. Bliss, and published in Cincinnati, 1891.

18. BUILDER OAK. "The builder Oake, sole King of forests all."—Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

19. SILURIAN SLUMBER. The Silurian Blue Limestone rocks of the so-called "Cincinnati Group," including the River quarry beds and the hill quarry beds, supply unlimited quantities of building stone of great excellence and beauty. "The advantages that the city of Cincinnati reaps from the quarries which surround it are immense."—Ford's *Hamilton County*, 1881.

20. IN VERDANT VALE WHERETHROUGH. DAMETA FLOWED. "This sweet valley is bounded toward the rising sun by the gentle stream Dameta, or the creek of deers; and on the side of the setting sun by the transparent waters of El-hen-a, or the stream of the green hills."—Timothy Flint, in a story entitled "Oolemba in Cincinnati," contributed to

Hall's "Western Souvenir," 1829. Dameta, or Deer Creek, formerly the pride of local poets and artists, has long been imprisoned in the deep conduit of a sewer which empties into the Ohio near the foot of Butler Street, just below the old waterworks. The romantic valley of the once beautiful stream is now buried from sight by the dumpage of half a century.

21. MAHKETEWA'S BROOK AND AFFLUENT RILLS. Mahketewa was the Indian name of Mill Creek. See William G. Gallagher's lyric, "The Spotted Fawn," which, sixty years ago, was one of the most popular songs, in the Ohio Valley. It begins with the lines:

"On Mahketewa's flowery marge
The Red Chief's wigwam stood."

22. AUBURN, OR ECHO, OR AERIAL HEIGHT

OF SUN-CLAD EDEN'S BLOSSOMY PLATEAU. Each of these lofty elevations commands a magnificent prospect of Cincinnati and its natural environs. The Queen City is famed for the picturesque charm of its suburbs. The following sentences, quoted from an article by James Parton, written for the *Atlantic Monthly*, forty years ago, are of interest: "As far as we have seen or read, no inland city of the world surpasses Cincinnati in the beauty of its environs. They present as perfect a combination of the picturesque and the accessible, as can anywhere be found. There are still the primeval forests and the virgin soil to favor the plans of the artist in capabilities. The Duke of Newcastle's party, one of which was the Prince of Wales, were not flattering their entertainers when they pronounced the suburbs of Cincinnati the finest they had anywhere seen."

23. DAUGHTERS OF MNEMOSYNE. Mnemosyne, goddess of Memory and mother of the Muses.

24. ALL SEDULOUS JOYS OF BOOK AND PEN ARE HERE. That Cincinnati, from the earliest period of its history up to the present time, has held foremost rank, among Western cities, as a center of literary culture, is a claim fully justified by the record of achievement of the eminent writers, past and present, who have been identified with the Queen City and its literary activities. "Within a period of ten years, counting backward and forward from 1830, there existed a literary circle of which Cincinnati was the center, which, as a whole, has never had a superior in America.—Among those who were influential in that circle, I may mention the names of William Henry Harrison, Timothy Flint, Micah P. Flint, Daniel Drake, James Hall, Jacob Burnet, Benjamin F. Drake, Edward D. Mansfield, William D. Gallagher, Otway Curry, S. P. Hildreth, L. A. Hine, Caroline Lee Hentz, Rebecca S. Nichols, Thos. H. Shreve, F. W. Thomas, Lyman Beecher, Charles Hammond, Eliza Whittlesey, Albert Pike, L. J. Cist, James H. Perkins, Harriet Beecher

Stowe, Eliza A. Dupuy, Amelia Welby, Sarah T. Bolton, and John B. Dillon."—William T. Coggeshall (author of "Poets and Poetry of the West," 1860), in an address on "The West and Its Literature," delivered at Ohio University, June 22, 1858.—Among the authors of a later period, whose distinguished achievement, especially in the domain of poetry, entitles them to honored recognition, may be named: Alice Cary, Phoebe Cary, Thomas Buchanan Read, William H. Lytle, Coates Kinney, John James Piatt, and Sarah M. B. Piatt.

25. **AND WHIRLING MARVEL OF PALISSY'S WHEEL.** Bernard Palissy the renowned potter and enameler, was born in 1510, and he died in the Bastille, Paris, in 1589. His name is here used, of course, as suggestive of the ceramic art which has given "Rookwood Pottery" celebrity in every civilized country.

26. **PENCIL AND LIMNER, SCULPTOR'S CUNNING STEEL.** Cincinnati has justly been called the "Cradle of American Art." Among the names of painters and sculptors who have plied their vocation in the Queen City, the following may be mentioned: Hiram Powers, 1805-1873; Shobell Clevinger, 1812-1843; James H. Beard, 1812-1893; W. T. Matthews, 1821-1905; T. B. Read; J. O. Eaton; W. H. Powell; Godfrey N. Frankenstein; John P. Frankenstein; Frank Dengler; W. H. Beard; C. T. Webber; Thomas Noble; Henry Mosler; C. H. Neihaus; Frank Duveneck; Henry F. Farny; Moses Ezekiel.

XI.

27. **WITH ORISONS AND DEDICATED TEARS.** "They made fast their boat and clambered up the steep bank to a level spot in the midst of a clump of pawpaw-bushes. Here the women and children sat down, while the men cleared away the underbrush and placed sentinels near the thicket to watch out for prowling Indians. Before undertaking to pitch a tent or build a hut, the little congregation (twenty-six in all) sang a hymn of praise and then knelt on the ground while their pastor, Rev. Ezra Ferris, offered a prayer to Almighty God." (See *Tales from Ohio History*, W. H. Venable.) Some poetic license has been taken in the poem, which places in December the religious ceremony which actually occurred November 6.—But the second colony, generally regarded as the first settlers of Cincinnati proper, came to "Losantiville" December 27, and there can scarcely be a doubt that they also signalized their coming by some suitable observance, most of them being men of piety, like their leader, Robert Patterson, who, we are told, "was profoundly religious."

28. **THEY PLEDGED A LOG-Hewn TEMPLE UNTO GOD.** The first religious society in the "Miami Country" was organized, by Dr. Stephen Gano, in 1790. The first house of worship was built in 1792. This, the Columbia Baptist Church, was torn down in 1835; and upon the site a pioneer monument was dedicated, July 4, 1889.

29. SEERS, LEGISLATORS, POLITICIANS, THESE. What Rev. Henry M. Storrs uttered from a Marietta pulpit, April 8, 1888, may well apply to the ideals of the original settlers of Cincinnati: "Today our minds go back across the century to that band of patriotic pioneers who, for the sake of the nation as well as themselves, broke ground for civilization on this spot beside the 'beautiful river.' Of their heroic character and achievements you have already heard. They came from their Eastern homes with high resolve. Imperial States, one after another, should be dedicated to human freedom. Unfettered religion, pure morals, a broad and universal education, public and private security under protection of equal law, industry, thrift and plenty, should here be the inheritance of their children forever. They were planning great things. Prophetic hope lent them inspiring visions. They were 'building better than they knew'." *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 1, June, 1888.



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E. O. Randall

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THE ORIGINAL MAN FROM OHIO.

Remarks recently made by the Editor of this *Quarterly* in introducing a gentleman on the occasion of a lecture on Ohio Archaeology before the William Morris Society of Columbus, led to much comment both serious and humorous in the newspapers not only of this state but of papers in various parts of the country. The Editor in his remarks was simply "passing along" some well ventilated possible conclusions resulting from the explorations and valuable researches of the Jessup expeditions. For the past ten or fifteen years Morris K. Jessup, the millionaire philanthropist and until recently president of the American Museum of Natural History, has been the main promoter of many expeditions and elaborate investigations in various parts of the world in search of possible or probable proof of the location of the cradle or birthplace of the human race. The results of these scientific, archaeological, ethnologic and anthropologic researches are being prepared for publication in many large volumes in Leyden, Holland. These reports, it is claimed, "will embody the first systematic and comprehensive treatment of the problem of how the red man got here (America) and where he probably came from." A brief resumé of the conclusions, arrived at in these reports, appeared sometime since in the *Cosmopolitan* Magazine in an article by Daniel T. Pierce. The result is, says this writer, that the evidence demonstrates "that the first American was not an Asiatic emigrant." The investigations in America were carried on by Doctor Franz Boas, Harland D. Smith, Livingston Ferrand, James Teit, George Hunt, Roland B. Dixon, and others. For the work in Siberia Waldemar Jochelson and Waldemar Begoras, of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, were secured. Dr. Berthold Lanfer was placed in charge of the operations in southeastern Siberia. Says Mr. Pierce, "from the study of both ethnological and archaeological conditions in northwestern America and in northeastern Asia, it seems most probable that man did not come from Asia at all but crossed over into Asia by way of northwestern America." We cannot follow the article of Mr. Pierce in detail. He gives a resumé of the facts and reasons put forth by the distinguished scholars who for years have given their time and thought to this intensely interesting question. The conclusions are

a reversal of the theory so universally accepted that Asia was the birthplace of the race that later found its way, somehow and somewhere into the western continent. Granted that the original American was "native and to the manner born" and not an importation—the logic we may lay down is as follows: barring the ice man, who may have or may not have existed first, the Mound Builder was the first to put in an appearance, at least so far as any remaining evidences testify. It is generally conceded that the Mound Builder, whether the ancestor of the Indian or a distinct race, antedated the Indians so-called. In other words, whoever he was and whatever his descendants were, he, the Mound Builder, was the "oldest inhabitant," and the one who may be called the original American. It is well conceded that the Mound Builders' domain was chiefly in the valleys of the Upper Mississippi and Lower Ohio. In the present bounds of the Buckeye State are found the most numerous and clearest evidences of his former habitation. In some twelve thousand locations has he left remains of his sojourn or activity in this state. It was his most populous region. May it not then have been his primitive birthplace? And as the Scioto Valley is richest in his fortifications, villages and burial sites, may it not have been the original center and starting point? *Ergo* may not the original Adam and Eve have found their Eden along the banks of the Scioto river rather than on the banks of the Euphrates. Why not? "Man is very old in America—perhaps he has been here fully a hundred thousand years, if not more," says Mr. Pierce and Doctor Boas states, "that the American race has inhabited our continent for an inconceivable long time." Vale, Asiatic antiquity of the race and hail to the Buckeye beginning of the human family. Ohio has ever been a wonderful state, prolific in all that is great and progressive. No other state can compete with her in offering proofs that here was not merely an aboriginal man but *the original man*. Upon these scientific (?) suggestions the newspapers have reveled in comments and criticisms. One very prominent daily went so far as to secure views of the plains and hills about Chillicothe and present them as Kodak pictures of the (New) original Garden of Eden. It only remains for some enterprising journalist to discover in the mounds of Ross county portraits of the primal pair before the serpent broke into the family circle. Plausibility is further added to the theories above by the *fact* that the serpent reclines on the hilltops overlooking Brush creek in Adams county. Thither he doubtlessly crawled and still remains, "grand, gloomy and peculiar," a gigantic warning to all happy families.

A YOUTHFUL HISTORIAN.

Sometime before the holidays (1907) *The Daily News* of Springfield, Ohio, offered three prizes for the best three essays on some local historical subject; essays to be written by the pupils of the public schools and to be confined to one thousand words each.



DOUGLAS HYPES.

The judges selected as the awarding committee were Prof. B. F. Prince, professor in history in Wittenberg College, ex-President Clark County Historical Society and for many years Trustee of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society; Prof. Allen M. Kline, head of the history department in the Springfield public schools and Mr. J. H. Rabbitts, Postmaster of Springfield, attorney-at-law, an ex-journalist and an enthusiastic and accomplished student of history. The contest awakened a great interest among the school pupils and scores of competitors entered the field. The essays were submitted to the awarding committee in such manner that the decision of the judges would be without their knowing the names of the respective writers previous to the award.

The successful winners and prizes were as follows: first prize, (\$15 in gold) Douglas Hypes, aged 16, Wittenberg Academy; second prize (\$10 in gold) Paul F. Trout, aged 18, Springfield High School; third prize (\$5 in gold) Clotell Dalie, aged 15, Springfield High School.

Master Douglas Hypes, the winner of the first prize is the son of the Hon. Oran F. Hypes, member of the Ohio Senate. The youthful writer adopted the methods of a real historian, for he went straight to the original sources, and obtained his material at first hand, as his additional notes testify. This fact gives especial value and interest to the article and shows the young writer did his work with the true historic interest and painstaking labor. It is, moreover, admirably written, and is as follows:

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD IN CLARK COUNTY.

BY DOUGLAS HYPES.

It was on a cold dreary night in the early "fifties." A high gale was blowing, which seemed to drive everything before it with unabating fury. Soon after midnight, a wagon came noiselessly down old Mechanic street in Springfield, Ohio. The driver stopped the horses before a house, half way between Jefferson and Pleasant streets, and, quickly alighting, made his way up the hill to the dwelling. In response to his low knock, the back door was opened.

"I have come a night earlier than expected," said the stranger, "for they were in pursuit."

"All right," was the reply. "Bring them in."

A black man and woman were now taken from the wagon to the house, and after receiving food, the secret panel from the cupboard was removed, and they entered the hidden closet. Leaving the house, quietly, the stranger drove away, while the whole scene remained enshrouded in mystery. This scene was often repeated in the dark days before the Civil War.

Perhaps there is nothing in the history of Clark County about which so little is known, as her part in the "Underground Railway." Long before the war, a Kentuckian, having followed his slave to Ripley, and there losing all trace of him remarked, "He seems to have disappeared on an underground road." Although spoken in fun, this incident afterward gave a name to those secret stations stretching from the Ohio river and elsewhere to Canada.

The "Fugitive Slave Law," of 1850 gave the slave holders the right to search for their slaves in other states, at the same time providing for the laying of a heavy fine on any one refusing to assist in the search. This law made even the enemies of slavery cautious, but they did not cease giving secret aid and shelter to fugitives. Thus the history of the Underground Railroad in Clark County was never written. Neither diaries nor records can be found, and but few are living, who shared in the exciting events of those days.

Most of the northern states east of the Mississippi, were crossed by the trails of fugitive slaves. But of all these, Ohio was the favorite. Slaves starting from the Ohio river, first reached the friendly Quaker settlements of Clinton County. From there they went to Wilberforce either through Xenia or Jamestown. The route then led to Selma and South Charleston or Springfield. Another route entered from Dayton. On reaching Springfield the fugitives were taken either to Urbana or Mechanicsburg.

It will never be known how many citizens aided in secreting slaves. In Springfield, John D. Nichols, whose residence in Mechanic street was the secret station, probably assisted more slaves than any other person. Others who gave support and money were: Geo. H. Frey, Christopher Thompson, John Baldwin, Mrs. Ann Warder, Sampson Mason, Daniel Morrow, Perry Stuart, Robt. Pyles and Chas. Stout. In the country were Joseph Dugdale, James Farr, D. Heiskell, E. G. Coffin, Samuel Howell, Jacob Jonathan and Wm. Pierce and others.

One of the noted incidents of the underground days, was the arrest of five neighboring citizens and an attempt to take them away for interfering with United States marshals, in capturing a slave. When the party reached South Charleston they were stopped by Sheriff Layton. While serving papers upon them, the ruffian marshals struck the sheriff to the ground, inflicting serious wounds.

Constable Coffin now pursued the deputies to Green County, where he overtook them and released the captives, after arresting the marshals. Their arrest became a noted event, the New York Times referring to it as the "Rebellion in Ohio." This act, however, aroused South Charleston to an anti-slavery feeling, and at a public meeting they passed this resolution:

Resolved, That we will make our town too hot to hold any informer, resident or foreign, who may be found prowling in our midst, endeavoring to involve our citizens in legal difficulties.

Within two blocks of the Nichols station of the Underground Railroad, now lives Chas. A. Harris. As a boy he once helped three fugitives escape. One night in 1854, Dr. Joel Harris, who lived north of

Springfield, aroused his son Charles, then but thirteen, telling him to go to the barn and hitch up. The boy obeyed, but soon came back, frightened, informing his father that he heard some one in the haymow. Taking a lantern, the father went out with Charles, and called, "Who's there?"

"Is that you, Dr. Harris?" called a negro voice.

Soon three fugitive slaves appeared. They had been secreted by Peter Bird, having been brought from Springfield.

"After giving them food," said Mr. Harris, "my father ordered me to drive them to Pickrellton, nine miles away. Arriving, I called Mr. Pickrell, saying as my father had told me, 'I have brought some people.'" Mr. Pickrell then led the fugitives into an orchard. Removing brush from a hollow sycamore, the slaves crawled into a cave, dug out beneath, where they were provided with food and blankets. The brush was thrown carelessly over the entrance, and the slaves awaited the coming of another night.

Among the colored freemen of that time, the most active for the slaves, was Robert Pyles. His son, James H. Pyles, recalls the arrival of seven fugitives one night. Secreting them at the Buckeye hotel barn, they were hurried northward without discovery.

It is nearly fifty years since the time of the Underground Railway. "Those were strenuous days," said men who are yet living to tell its secrets. "All the money offered us by Southern slave masters, could not silence abolition, for it was right." During the period more than five thousand slaves escaped to the north, and not one was ever known to be captured in Clark County. With their faces toward freedom, one could hear the slave song:

"Dark and thorny is de pathway
Where de pilgrim makes his ways
But beyond dis vale of sorrow
Lies de fields ob endless days."

* * * *

In conclusion with this paper, additional "notes" were submitted for publication whenever it should be printed. This was made necessary, Mr. Hypes explained, by the fact that he felt that the matter was important but that it could not be added to his paper without running over the 1,000-word limit which was set by the rules of the contest.

These notes were retained by the contest editor and were not submitted to the judges. They are however, given here.

NOTES.

The introduction of the account, is based upon an actual event which took place on Mechanic street across from my home. The old slave station contained two secret closets. The part of the house which contained the original slave cupboard has been removed, but the part containing the other hiding place still stands, and is number 307 South Mechanic street, now Lowry avenue. Before the former part was removed, however, I frequently visited the cupboard, and have looked upon it with much curiosity.

Entrance was gained to the latter by a trap door, which was cut through the floor in a closet. Two joists had been removed between the floor and lower ceiling, thus giving more space for the fugitives to move. The trap door was easily covered over and would hardly have been recognized.

A daughter of Mr. Nichols, the anti-slavery man, is yet living, and gives in a letter to me interesting facts. She says:

"My father and mother became earnest anti-slavery advocates in 1841, and from that time until the war, the colored people knew my parents as friends, and our home was a refuge. When old enough, probably about the year '48 or '49, I became greatly interested in the black people, who came quietly to our kitchen door after dark and left before daylight; often we children did not know who our callers were, but we soon understood 'the back door knock,' the look exchanged between mother and father, and the anxious mysterious atmosphere that pervaded the home, until father had word from the next 'station.' I remember one morning before light, hearing a noise down stairs. I crept to the kitchen to find a big black man and woman, for whom breakfast was being prepared. I was quickly taken back to bed.

"I, one evening overheard father telling mother 'he had found a half killed darkey in the cornfield,' who must get some supper and sleep, and he would see Mr. ———, and get him off before daylight. I did not see the man."

E. G. Coffin who aided in the arrest of the United States marshals for the assault on Sheriff Layton, was a nephew of Levi Coffin of Cincinnati. At the head of the underground, he aided hundreds of slaves on their way north. He was a Quaker. E. G. Coffin often drove the underground 'express,' from South Charleston to Mechanicsburg, and had secretly taken the slave Addison White there in 1855. For this and other service he now states:

"The outbreak of the war itself, was all that saved me from a term in the state penitentiary, over which I afterward presided as warden."

AUTHORITIES.

Geo. H. Frey, Sr., E. G. Coffin, James H. Pyles, Chas. H. Pierce, Walter Pierce, Mrs. D. A. Johnson, Mrs. Belle Nichols Rebeck, Versailles, Indiana. As to arrests, The Springfield Nonpareil, issue 1857.

THE CENTRAL OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL CONFERENCE.

During the Summer and early Fall of the past year (1907) a number of Cincinnati gentlemen interested directly or indirectly in history in general and Ohio Valley history in particular formulated a plan for holding what was designated as the Central Ohio Valley Historical Conference. The purpose of this plan was to bring together for the opportunity of discussion and mutual acquaintance and co-operation all writers, scholars, teachers and others engaged in the field of history and all societies, whose object might be, in whole or part, the promotion of history, gathering of material, presentation and dissemination of the same. Patriotic societies were included in the scope of the project. The chief, if not original, protagonist of this idea was Professor Isaac J. Cox, of the department of history of the University of Cincinnati. Professor Cox submitted the plan to the Executive Committee of the Cincinnati Historical Teachers' Association, which organization gave the idea enthusiastic support. General and special committees were appointed and many patriotic

and historical societies lent their aid to the cause. The main and executive committee consisted of Mr. Charles Theodore Greve, author of "The History of Cincinnati," the "Bench and Bar of Ohio," and professor of law in the Cincinnati Law School; Professor Isaac Joslin Cox, mentioned above, and Mr. Frank Parker Goodwin, professor of history in the Woodward (Cincinnati) High School. Great praise is due this committee for the energy and tact displayed in their work and for the more than successful conclusion of their efforts, culminating in the series of important and interesting meetings held Friday and Saturday, November 29th and 30th, 1907.

The first session of the conference was held in the afternoon of Friday in McMicken Hall, University of Cincinnati. Mr. Charles T. Greve presided and Mayor E. J. Dempsey of Cincinnati and President Charles W. Dabney, of University of Cincinnati, welcomed the delegates to the conference in short addresses, in which they expressed their appreciation of the work being done by the historical and archaeological and patriotic societies in Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and West Virginia. The main speaker of the occasion was Reuben Gold Thwaites, L.L. D., Secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society and well known author of many works on western history. His theme was "The Mission of Local History." It was a strong plea for the search for and preservation of historical data hitherto neglected. Mr. E. O. Randall briefly presented the history of the "Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society," its purposes, lines of work, relation to the state and local societies. Mr. Virgil A. Lewis, Director State Department of Archives and History, Charleston, W. Va., spoke of the work of his state and the great opportunity yet unimproved of gathering historical matter pertinent to the Ohio river; his subject was "State Aid in Local History." Mr. Charles B. Galbreath, Ohio State Librarian, outlined the work of Ohio Library in historical departments. "Local History Work in the Counties of Kentucky," was interestingly and wittily put forth by W. W. Longmoor, Curator Kentucky State Historical Society, Frankfort, Ky. The topic "Recent Work in Prehistoric Fields," by Mr. Frederick W. Hinkle, Cincinnati Branch, Archaeological Institute of America, afforded the speaker an opportunity to present to the public for the first time an account of the recent explorations in the famous Madisonville Prehistoric Cemetery. The investigations were conducted in the summer of 1907, by the archaeological department of Peabody Museum, under the direction of Professor F. W. Putnam. Mr. Hinkle personally participated in the explorations which proved to be rich in discoveries quite new to Ohio archaeology.

In the evening the delegates repaired to the Queen City Club, where at the banquet table they met a number of noted Cincinnatians. Charles T. Greve acted as toastmaster. He introduced as the chief speaker of the evening, William Dudley Foulke, of Richmond, Ind., a member of the United State Civil Service Commission. His subject was "The Autocrat



of Indiana." The curiosity of the delegates had been aroused regarding the identity of this personage, but it was soon allayed, as the speaker in his introductory remarks mentioned the name of Oliver P. Morton in such eulogistic terms as to leave no doubt that the famous War Governor of Indiana was the "autocrat." The speaker told the story of Morton's life in such a manner as to keep the attention of his audience alert till the last word was spoken. A chapter from the most exciting fiction could not have been more interesting.

Prof. William H. Venable, who was expected to read an original poem entitled, "The Founders," was unable to be present. His son, Prof. Emerson Venable, recited the poem. This production is published elsewhere in this Quarterly under the title, "Cincinnati." Short speeches were then made by Prof. Merrick Whitcomb, R. G. Thwaites, Archer B. Hulbert, W. W. Longmoor, F. P. Goodwin, Virgil A. Lewis, James Alton James and E. O. Randall.

The guests were Isaac J. Cox, R. G. Thwaites, J. A. James, C. L. Martzloff, F. P. Goodwin, E. Venable, V. A. Lewis, S. B. Harding, M. E. Marsh, Frank T. Cole, E. F. McIntyre, John Uri Lloyd, C. M. Thompson, Albert S. Hill, Thomas C. Miller, Thornton M. Hinkle, Harlow Lindley, Herbert Jenney, Charles L. Burgoyne, S. K. Bartholomew, A. A. Weerland, M. Whitcomb, C. T. Greve, A. B. Hulbert, Alexander Hill, E. R. Blaine, G. S. Sykes, E. W. Coy, D. L. James, C. J. Livingood, John H. Miller, F. L. Steele, W. H. Mackoy, F. W. Hinkle, C. L. Metz, John W. Harper, Ferd Jelke, Jr., F. R. Dyer, Demarchus C. Brown, Harry B. Mackoy, John E. Blaine, P. S. Conner, Alston Ellis, W. W. Longmoor, W. H. Siebert, W. D. Foulke, E. O. Randall and J. A. James.

Saturday morning at McMicken Hall, was given to the teachers of history. Mr. Wilbur H. Siebert, Professor of European History, O. S. U., Columbus, Ohio, presided and rendered an appropriate address on the general subject of history teaching. Welcome remarks were made by Professor F. B. Dyer, Superintendent Cincinnati Public Schools, and Professor Merrick Whitcomb, University of Cincinnati. A most scholarly address was made by Mr. James Alton James, Professor of American History, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., on "The Teacher of Social Sciences." This was followed by a discussion of the features of the address by Professor Samuel Bannister Hardin, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.; Clement L. Martzloff, Professor of History, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio; and Bertram L. Jones, Instructor in the Manual Training High School, Louisville, Ky.; Archer Butler Hulbert, Professor of American History, Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio, and author of many works on American history, spoke on "The Use of Local Records in History Teaching," explaining his method of directing his pupils in conducting original work among material accessible to their use.

At the close of the Saturday morning session the attendants upon

the conference were tendered a luncheon, served in one of the halls of the University of Cincinnati. In the afternoon a reception was held by the Hereditary Patriotic Societies, in the quarters of the Patriotic Societies, Mercantile Library Building. The social features of the reception were preceded by an exceedingly entertaining program of addresses by representatives of the Patriotic Societies. General Benjamin R. Cowen presided and an introductory address was made by Mr. Henry B. Mackoy, Covington, Ky., Sons of the Revolution and Chairman Reception Committee. Succeeding speeches were delivered by: Mrs. Herman Groesbeck, Society of Colonial Dames; Rev. Henry M. Curtis, D. D., Society of Colonial Wars; Mrs. John A. Murphy, ex-State Regent Daughters of the American Revolution; Mr. John A. Blaine, Sons of the Revolution and Mrs. Joseph C. Hosea, Daughters of the Confederacy. It was a brilliant and fitting close to the two days of historical revelry and feasting. The papers read and addresses made throughout the conference were of a high order of merit and interest. The audiences were large and enthusiastic. Nothing could have exceeded the perfect arrangements of the various committees in charge or the courtesy and hospitality of the authorities of the University of Cincinnati and the people of the city. The purpose of the conference to concentrate, direct and awaken new interest in Ohio Valley History was more than accomplished. In connection with the meeting there was an exhibit of maps, manuscripts, and rare volumes, in the library rooms of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, in the Van Wormer Library Building. This exhibit was under the direction of Miss L. Belle Hamlin, Librarian of the Society. A special exhibit of books and maps, applicable to the nature of the conference, was also made by Mr. N. D. C. Hodges, Librarian, in the rooms of the Cincinnati Public Library.

At the Friday afternoon meeting a provisional committee of fifteen on permanent organization was selected. This committee met after the evening banquet and again on Saturday morning before the Teachers' Session. At the close of the latter the committee of fifteen submitted the report which follows and which was unanimously adopted by the conference.

The Committee to whom was referred the task of drafting resolutions on the subject of a permanent co-operation of the history workers of the Ohio Valley beg leave to submit the following resolutions:

1st. *Resolved*, That there be formed an organization to be called the Ohio Valley History Conference.

2d. *Resolved*, That membership in this organization be composed of the following classes:

(a) Individual members.

(b) Organizations whose object it is to cherish all forms of patriotic work, to stimulate a greater interest in history teaching in general and in the subject of the local history of the Ohio Valley in particular, and to

aid in the collection, preservation, and publication of its records and of original work based thereon.

(c) Persons not residing in the Ohio Valley but whose published work or regular occupation naturally identifies them with our purpose.

3d. *Resolved*, That a second meeting of this conference be held one year from date, at some place to be determined upon later, and that a committee consisting of nine persons be empowered to prepare a program and make other necessary preparations for this meeting; and in addition to draft a permanent constitution to be acted upon at that meeting.

4th. *Resolved*, That the membership of this committee consist of the following persons:

Isaac Joslin Cox, University of Cincinnati; Samuel Bannister Harding, University of Indiana; E. O. Randall, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society; Virgil A. Lewis, State Department of Archives and History, West Virginia; W. W. Longmoor, Kentucky State Historical Society; Harry B. Mackoy, Filson Club and hereditary patriotic societies; Frank Parker Goodwin, Cincinnati History Teachers' Association; Archer B. Hulbert, Marietta College and Ohio Valley Historical Society, and Clement L. Martzloff, Secretary, Ohio University, Athens.

The Committee of nine thus chosen decided to meet in Cincinnati on January 17 and 18, 1908, at which time it will formulate definite plans for the future scope and work of the conference.

KERR'S LIFE OF JOHN SHERMAN.

John Sherman in his will provided for the writing of an impartial biography and in connection therewith his will says: "This provision is not made to secure a eulogy, for I am conscious of many faults, but I claim that in my duty to the public, I have been honest, faithful and true." His biographer as well as his executor is Hon. W. S. Kerr, of Mansfield, Ohio. in his duty enjoined upon him by Mr. Sherman in his lifetime Mr. Kerr has written "John Sherman; His Life and Public Services," in two handsome volumes making together nearly nine hundred pages. Although Mr. Kerr approached his labor without literary training or experience, it can be truthfully stated no better written political biography can be found in American bibliography. It is not only John Sherman's life but it is an admirable contemporary history of events surrounding the great Senator's career. It is not our purpose to dwell upon the details of the work. It is sufficient to note that the work before us is in complete harmony with the dignified character which is its subject. From Mr. Sherman's entrance into the House of Representatives in 1855, to the day he laid down the port folio of Secretary of State in President McKinley's Cabinet, it is a complete mirror of his public life and a splendid review of all contemporary legislative politics in which he

was a commanding figure. As congressman, senator and cabinet officer John Sherman reflected great honor on himself and his state. As secretary of treasury he is one of the great triumverate that history has selected from that office to live during our national life. There have been many great men who have been finance ministers of our country, but the historians have placed but three in the Hall of Fame— Alexander Hamilton, Salmon P. Chase and John Sherman.

We congratulate Mr. Kerr and his readers on having produced one of the best biographies in many a year, and he who will study it will not only gain full knowledge of a great life, but will acquire full information concerning a momentous period of American history from 1855 to 1900.

D. J. R.



BIRTHPLACE OF JOHN BROUGH.

EDGAR ERVIN.

[The following article clears up the disputed question concerning the birthplace of John Brough, one of Ohio's famous war governors. It also presents many interesting events in the life of the governor. Mr. Edgar Ervin, the writer, is the present member of the Ohio House of Representatives from Meigs county. Mr. Ervin was educated in the country schools, subsequently receiving special training for public life in the Capitol School of Oratory (Columbus), Lakeside Summer School, King's School of Oratory (Pittsburg), and the College of Law, Ohio State University. He was admitted to the bar by the Supreme Court of Ohio in June, 1906, while serving as a member of the 77th General Assembly. — EDITOR.]

The wrecking of the old jail just opposite the Court House in Marietta, brings to mind several historic facts of no mean importance. This building was a little more than fifty years old, having been erected in 1848 on the site of the pioneer Court House which was the first Hall of Justice in the Northwest Territory. The building was forty-five feet in length, thirty-nine feet in breadth and two stories high. The walls were three feet thick and were made of double tiers of yellow poplar logs. The front room in the upper story was the court room. It was 40 by 30 feet and lighted by seven windows. The two lower rooms were occupied by the jailor and his family. The jail was in the rear part of



EDGAR ERVIN

the building, which was very strongly built and from which, it is stated, no prisoner ever escaped. The jury room was in the rear of the second story over the jail. A cupola surmounted the roof in which was hung the same bell that was hung in the

succeeding Court House and which has been in use till the occupancy of the present new Court House.

The theory that John Brough was born in the primitive Court House has been disputed for the reason that, coupled with the above statement, the assertion is generally made that his father was Sheriff at the time. We quote from a Marietta newspaper issued Friday, June 12, 1863:

"Mr. Brough (John) was born in 1811 in Marietta, in the old Court House and jail, the dwelling-house part of which was occupied by his father, John Brough, Esq., who was at the time Sheriff of the county. The father was a native of England, and died in 1823, on the 'Cleona' farm just above the mouth of Duck Creek."

In the issue of Friday, Sept. 11, 1863, appear nearly the same statements:

"John Brough was born in 1811, in the dwelling-house part of the old jail, John Brough, Esq., being Sheriff at the time. His father was a native of England, and died in 1823, on the 'Cleona' farm, and within a short time 'Jack' went to learn the printer's trade with the late Roal Prentiss in the office of the American Friend, then being only about twelve years of age."

From the "History of Marietta," by Thos. J. Summers, we note the names of Sheriffs since 1788:

1788, September, to 1802, Ebenezer Sproat.

1802, September, to 1803, William Skinner.

1803, September, to 1810, John Clark.

1810, September, to 1812, William Skinner.

1812, September, to 1814, Timothy Buell.

It is readily seen that John Brough's father was never Sheriff of Washington county. Then what about the authenticity of the article?

If wrong in one particular, then is it wrong in all? Of course, one will readily admit that it was possible for the elder Brough to occupy the dwelling-house part of the old Court House, and yet not be Sheriff. But why should he ever live in the building, since the records show that he neither was Sheriff nor Deputy Sheriff at the time of the birth of John Brough, Jr.?

In searching the old records in the office of the Clerk of Courts, we find the following order on page 184:

"Journal of Common Pleas Court of Washington County,



John Brough, From the Original Painting in the State Capitol Building, Columbus.

December 17, 1810. Ordered that license be granted to John Brough (Senior) to keep a tavern in the Court House.

(Signed) PAUL FEARING,
Presiding Judge."

On page 253 of the same volume, under date of Dec. 14, 1811, we find where the license is renewed:

"Ordered that the license be issued to John Brough to keep tavern under the Court House." This is self explanatory and it becomes an established fact that John Brough, the "War Governor," was born in the old pioneer Court House, and this place will doubtless soon be marked with a monument erected by the Ohio Historical Society.

JOHN BROUGH.

There came to Ohio the family of John Brough, Sr., from Maryland, who settled in the valley of the Little Muskingum in Washington county. It was here that John Brough, the eminent war governor of Ohio was born in 1811. Brough was a born executive; strong in physique, resolute of countenance, he possessed that thorough-goingness and accurate execution which characterized his administration as governor of Ohio. His type was that representative of a strong and determined will, and it is in this particular that he distinguished himself in early life in College at Athens, in the field of journalism and in the governor's chair.

Brough attended the Marietta schools, and in early life, like Ben Franklin, was apprenticed as a printer. It was his experience in the print shop that gave him such a comprehensive view of human nature and many facts here acquired by his absorbent mind, gave him a stock of information which stood copious draughts during his future career. He was not a theorist; his clear logic, apt perception, and open and frank disposition, moved him to apply promptly and well his new acquisition of knowledge. While a student at the University his work was characterized by zealous effort and diligent research. He worked in the office of the *Mirror* during his leisure hours and thus defrayed his expenses. He was a great athlete, and while at Athens, tradition has it that he accomplished his greatest feat by kicking a football over the main building.

AS A JOURNALIST.

Brough's executive ability coupled with his natural instinct for the printing business, made him an ideal newspaper man of his day. At twenty years of age we find him editing the *Western Republican* at Marietta. His maiden issue appeared on the birthday of General Jackson in 1831, Jackson being his political idol at that time. After two years he, with his brother, bought the *Ohio Eagle* at Lancaster. This paper made him a political leader of the state. He entered politics, but retained his connection with the *Eagle*, and reported for the *Ohio Statesman* at Columbus until 1841, when the Brough brothers bought the *Cincinnati Advertiser* and changed its name to the *Enquirer*. The paper continued in his hands until 1848. Brough was much censured by the press at this period; he was criticised politically, attacked personally, and abused maliciously, but he always claimed to act on the defensive, and never apologized for the keenness of sarcasm often resorted to in these conflicts. A humorous incident is told concerning a brief article which appeared in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, then edited by G. D. Prentice, while Brough was editing the *Enquirer*. Prentice was having some fun by thus describing his immense avoirdupois:

"If flesh is grass as people say
Then Jackie Brough's a load of hay."

Brough, having in mind the numerous criticisms of the press replied, "That he supposed he was hay judging from the number of asses that were nibbling at him."

PLACE IN HISTORY.

Brough made his formal entry into politics in 1835, when he was elected Clerk of the Ohio Senate. Robert Lucas was then governor. Thomas Ewing represented the state in the national senate, while in the house of representatives at Washington, Thomas Corwin was becoming popular. Andrew Jackson as president had begun his war on the U. S. Bank, while Thomas Benton, Martin Van Buren, W. H. Harrison, Daniel Webster, John Calhoun and Henry Clay were among the leaders

in national politics. On the slavery question Brough was conservative. This was the period when the Abolitionists referred to the national constitution as a "league with hell and a covenant with death." Brough's position is clearly outlined in his speeches. During the progress of the war, Brough made a stirring speech at Marietta, calling on all loyal citizens regardless of party affiliations, to uphold the administration of Lincoln and suppress the war, concluding as follows:

"This country, my friends, is the last hope of freeman throughout the world. It is the field upon which civilization has



Old Marietta Jail in Which John Brough was Born. Marietta College in Background.

flourished and science began to accomplish its great purpose. The nations and people of the old world are marking its progress from day to day as it enfranchises man from every servitude. And are you going to give it up? Young men can you afford to give your posterity a heritage worse than that which your fathers gave to you? If you can, you are faithless, not only to your own manhood, but to your God. You are bound to have one country, one flag and one destiny. And what country shall this be? What but the country you had before the rebellion raised its

parricidal hand to strike it down. That country with the incubus of slavery wiped away; a country that, like a weary man who has lain down by the roadside to rest, has risen again, and is marching on to its great destiny. What flag, but that which smiles on our peaceful assemblage today. Stand by it then, let it be the flag of the Union restored, reared aloft to float forever. Or, when it falls, if fall it must, let there be nothing around it but crumbling walls and nothing above it but the Angel that shall speak the end of time and the beginning of eternity."

BROUGH AND VALLANDIGHAM.

Brough, as candidate, managed his own campaign, and delivered many speeches in his telling sledgehammer style. Vallandigham, his opponent, having been arrested and sent within the Confederate lines, was forced to rely on his friends to look after his interests. The campaign was fierce; men, women and children attending the public meetings and indulging in heated discussions, and many times in personal combat. All felt relieved when the campaign closed. An interesting incident is related concerning Vallandigham while being conducted through the Confederate lines. The escort had been traveling almost day and night, and after having spent the greater part of the previous night on the march worn and weary, the party stopped for a few hours sleep. Vallandigham was called at daybreak and told that day was appearing and that they must resume their journey, at which he raised himself on his elbow and said in a dramatic manner:

"Night's candles are burnt out and jocund day
Stands tiptoe on misty mountain tops."

Here he hesitated; the next line describes the wrathful feelings of the soldiers for him and comes consecutively in the poem:

"I must be gone and live or stay and die."

Brough was elected governor by the greatest majority ever given a candidate at that time and during his official career exhibited many of the highest qualities of statesmanship.

MONUMENT AT FORT JEFFERSON.

On Thursday, October 24, 1907, through the efforts and under the auspices of the Greenville Historical Society a monument was erected to mark the site of Fort Jefferson and to commemorate the historic events connected with that military post. The monument, unique in form and material, is twenty feet in height, seven feet broad at the base, with a shoulder about two feet from the ground and a gracefully tapering shaft as shown in the accompanying illustration. It is built of carefully selected "grey-heads" or field boulders of various colors, faced on one side and laid in Portland cement. The tablet, of bronze, size two by three feet, is inserted on the north side of the shaft facing the highway, at a height of five feet from the ground and bears this inscription:

FORT JEFFERSON
Built by the army of
General Arthur St. Clair
in October, 1791
And used as a military post
During the campaign against
The Northwestern Indian Tribes.
MCMVII.

The day proved propitious and a large number of citizens of Fort Jefferson, Greenville and adjacent towns gathered in the afternoon of the day in question to enjoy the exercises of the following program which had been arranged by Messrs. Alvin Kerst, J. Jos. O'Brien and F. E. Wilson, Committee in behalf of the Greenville Historical Society:

PROGRAM.

1. HAIL COLUMBIA.....Deubner's Drum Corps
2. AMERICAAudience
3. INVOCATION.....Rev. Chas. H. Gross
4. A WORD FROM THE COMMITTEE.....Frazer E. Wilson

5. PRESENTATION.....Geo. A. Katzenberger
6. UNVEILING.....Elizabeth D. Robeson
7. MILITARY SALUTE.....Gun Squad, Co. M., 3rd Regt.
8. STAR SPANGLED BANNER.....Drum Corps
9. ACCEPTANCE ON BEHALF OF THE PUBLIC.....Prof. J. T. Martz
10. HISTORIC ADDRESS.....Judge J. I. Allread
11. YANKEE DOODLE.....Drum Corps
12. A WORD FROM THE RED MEN.....L. E. Wills
13. BENEDICTION.....Rev. G. W. Berry

ADDRESS OF FRAZER E. WILSON.

SECRETARY GREENVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

One hundred and sixteen years ago to-day a military post which was being erected on this very spot by the army of Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair was named Fort Jefferson in honor of that great statesman and author of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson. We are assembled to commemorate that event and to do honor to the memory of the heroes and patriots who sacrificed so much that we might enjoy the benefits of a free nation. Father Time has been very good to us, indeed, and it is hard to appreciate all the benefits conferred by those who have gone before. Other men labored and we have entered into the rewards of their labors. Under the inspiring influences of the past I feel that it is good for us to be here. Let us unveil this tablet and dedicate this monument with due reverence for the patriots who once stood where we stand not knowing what another day might bring forth. With these thoughts in mind I want to express a few words of appreciation for the character and public services of one whose name has gone down under a cloud because of defeat at a very critical moment in Western history. Whenever the name of Arthur St. Clair is mentioned in this vicinity our minds go back to that cold November morning in 1791 when his exposed and decrepit army was surprised and suddenly attacked by a fierce horde of howling savages on a branch of the upper Wabash. In face of the terrible defeat that followed we are prone to forget or overlook the previous and later record of this stalwart patriot. St. Clair was of Scottish birth. He emigrated to America in 1755 and served with the British in the French and Indian War, being in the important engagements of Louisburg and Quebec. Like many of his hardy countrymen he then settled in western Pennsylvania and engaged in farming until the outbreak of the Revolution. The call of the Colonies appealed to him and he espoused the cause of freedom, serving with distinction at Three-Rivers, Trenton, Princeton and Hubbardstown and attaining the rank of Major-General. In 1786 he was elected President of Congress and in 1788 was appointed Governor of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio river. With such a record of faithful service on the credit side of

life's ledger the new Government naturally turned to him with confidence when its western borders were assailed by savage foes. The new settlements of the Americans on the north side of the Ohio river were regarded by the Indians of the North as an invasion of their ancient domains. The British, who still retained the military posts at Detroit and along the lakes, took advantage of the situation and goaded on the



Monument Erected on Site of Fort Jefferson.

savages to attack the scattered settlements, furnishing them with arms, ammunition, food, clothing, etc. To meet this alarming situation three expeditions were sent against the Indian villages of the Maumee and Wabash with indifferent success. These raids so greatly exasperated the Indians against whom they were sent that they formed a confederacy and entered into a conspiracy to drive the white settlers beyond the Ohio. At this juncture St. Clair appeared on the scene. With a poorly

equipped and inadequately disciplined army of mixed and insubordinate troops, which had been collected with great pains and labor, he left camp at Ludlow's Station, near Fort Washington, September 17th, 1791, and marched northward to the crossing of the Great Miami where he built and garrisoned Fort Hamilton. Cutting a road through the wilderness the army arrived on this ground October 12th, and proceeded to build another post as one of a chain of forts connecting Fort Washington with the Maumee at the present site of Fort Wayne, Indiana. On the 24th of October this post, which was nearing completion, was named Fort Jefferson by St. Clair, and a detachment with two pieces of artillery left to defend it. Proceeding northward along an old Indian trail through the beautiful open forest the army arrived on the present site of Greenville, Ohio, and encamped until the 31st, awaiting supplies. Again taking up the line of march the army veered a little west of north. About this time sixty of the Kentucky militia deserted and the entire First Regiment of Regulars was detached and sent in pursuit to protect the provision train and bring back the deserters. In this weakened and disorganized condition the army encamped on a branch of the upper Wabash on the evening of November 3rd, 1791. St. Clair intended to cast up a light earthwork on the following day and make a forced march for the Maumee, which he thought to be about fifteen miles distant but which was, in fact, about fifty miles away. This he was not permitted to do but was surprised, surrounded and terribly defeated early the following day. In this engagement St. Clair had two horses shot from under him and several bullet holes shot through his clothes. Altho suffering with the gout he rode up and down the lines encouraging the troops but failed to save the day. After nearly three hours of hard fighting the army retreated pell-mell and kept on with untold hardship and suffering until this place (Fort Jefferson) was reached near night-fall—a distance of nearly thirty miles. The story of this defeat cast a gloom over the whole frontier and encouraged the Indians to renew their attacks on the scattered settlers. This condition prevailed until "Mad Anthony" Wayne defeated the allied tribes on the Maumee in 1794 and caused them to sign the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. St. Clair was court-martialed and exonerated, and continued to serve as Governor of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio until 1802, when he was removed for stubborn persistence in ideas which he thought to be right but which were at variance with the growing principles of equal rights and popular representation. Broken in health and greatly reduced in fortune he died in a log house near Ligonier, Pa., in 1818. He had sacrificed the comforts of home and the social advantages of a brilliant political career besides a considerable fortune in attempting to direct the destinies of a vast and newly organized territory in the western wilderness. Measuring success by conventional standards we might be tempted to call his later public life a failure. Shakespeare makes Mark Antony say over the dead body of Caesar—

"The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones."

May it not be thus with Arthur St. Clair but rather may this monument long stand as a fitting tribute of respect to his memory. May the broken granite boulders typify the strength and rugged virtues of that stalwart patriot and his faithful followers and may this bronze tablet fittingly recall the advancement of the western frontier to this place.

Mr. President, on behalf of the Committee on Construction, I now tender this beautiful and appropriate memorial to the Greenville Historical Society to be disposed of at its pleasure.

REMARKS OF GEORGE A. KATZENBERGER.

PRESIDENT GREENVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

We have met to-day in the golden month of October to unveil a monument erected to the memory of the brave pioneers who built here a fort in the wilderness, one hundred and sixteen years ago. As in this month the latest crops are gathered, so ought we to realize that we are reaping the fruits of the labors of the pioneers.

Monuments not only contribute to our civilization, they mark its progress and degree. They keep green the memory of patriotic services.

The members of the Greenville Historical Society after placing a memorial boulder in Greenville, were of the opinion that the most important work to be done was the erection of a memorial at this place. Fort Jefferson is the oldest historic spot in this county and we are glad to state that we have had no difficulty in securing the co-operation of the citizens of this village.

We all realize that great credit is due to Messrs. Patty and Coppock for their unselfish action in deeding these two lots to the Trustees of Neave Township for park purposes.

This is also an appropriate time to acknowledge the aid and co-operation on the part of the residents of this place.

In presenting this monument to the public in behalf of the donors we express the hope that it will be a reminder to us and to those who come after us, of our indebtedness to the brave soldiers and pioneers who opened this country to civilization! May it increase our love for this, our country, which extends its protection over all of us.

ADDRESS OF ACCEPTANCE.

PROF. J. T. MARTZ.

This fort was built, not for the protection of the white settlers in its immediate vicinity, for there were none there at that time. Then the howl of the wolf, the scream of the panther or the whoop of the

Indian alone broke the enchanted stillness of the then surrounding forest, a forest that has since disappeared under the sturdy stroke of the woodsman's axe, to make way for civilization. But, ere this was accomplished, the ruthless hand of war was outstretched to allay and stop the ravages of the Indian tomahawk, the scalping knife, and the midnight torch applied to the white settler's dwelling here and many miles from the location of this fort. The only way to stop the depredations of the savages was to meet force with force—cunning and ambuscade with like measures—in order to subdue the sullen savage, who then found his rude home on the banks of the meandering streams, his habits of life in no way changed by the influence of the encroaching white man.

But the effort, the hardships, the sufferings and trials of the citizen-soldier, in erecting structures similar to the one erected here, which we, this day, commemorate, and other similar structures in parts of the country where at that time danger lurked, have brought about during the passing years a transformation of the abode of the sullen savage to homes of the highest civilization.

No wonder this fort was built, no wonder that the citizen and soldier labored that they and their posterity should enjoy the blessings of a free country, bereft of the dangers and terrors of night and of the arrows that flew at noon-day. They had strong confidence in the result of their labors, and they, in their natural way, encouraged those sterling agencies intended to elevate and enoble the human character.

More than one hundred and sixteen years ago this spot not only re-echoed with the sound of the soldier's axe, in constructing Fort Jefferson, for protection of life and property,—but often was the whoop of the savage heard, giving warning to the soldier that death and torture and suffering could only be evaded by the most unremitting watchfulness and bravery; and these testimonials of energy, industry and perseverance in the past are repeated in the present, and to-day give us encouragement and direction for the future. Surely the labors and interest of this day in erecting this monument, with its suitable tablet, show that the people of Darke County are patriotic, and progressive, and may we not say that our Society is taking a proud, pre-eminent stand among our sister counties, in developing the elements of enduring patriotism and prosperity in our midst; in teaching the rising generation to honor and cherish the public institutions of our country, and in instilling in the minds of our citizens the love of country so strikingly manifested by the very soldiers who built this fort, and who so gallantly sacrificed their lives for the welfare, the perpetuity and the safety of the generation which to-day is celebrating the achievements their predecessors so dearly won. General St. Clair reached this location on the afternoon of October 12, 1791, and took up his line of march to the Northwest on the 24th day of the same month, having been occupied twelve days in building the Fort. Why was it built? Because the early spirit of emigration had taken hold of the

settlers of the West. Settlements had been made in Kentucky and on both sides of the Ohio River, from Fort Duquesne to the Falls in this river, and these settlements were constantly annoyed by the depredations of the various tribes of Indians, who seemed determined that the Ohio River should be the Northern Boundary of the Territory of the white man; and they persisted in repelling by force of arms, and in murdering any white man who claimed the right to, and did locate his home north of this stream, or on its northern banks. And it was to protect and defend this territory belonging to our General Government from the encroachments of these savages, instigated by the Emissaries of the British Government, which was glad to seek an opportunity to continue a strife that by treaty had been settled in the independence of our country years before. The circumstances of St. Clair's defeat was the result of the fortunes of war, and we can only honor the noble dead by recalling him and his army in a proper way, and we know of no way more appropriate than by the erection of this monument and the placing of the significant tablet which your society dedicates to the public this day, and which I gratefully accept in its behalf, firmly believing that no other place in American history is more deserving of the same.

With this Fort are associated many trials and dangers of our early soldiers; the adventures through which they passed; the Indian chiefs who led the savages in their battles, ambuscades and individual adventures of the whites as well as the Indians. As late as November 6, 1792, Little Turtle commanded a band of two hundred and fifty Mingoes and Wyandot warriors in an attack upon one hundred mounted riflemen of the Kentucky militia, commanded by Captain John Adair, who had been called upon to escort a brigade of pack horses from Fort Washington to the outlying forts. Two white prisoners were taken, who informed Little Turtle that these horses were loaded with supplies for Fort St. Clair, located near Eaton, in Preble county, and Fort Jefferson, and that the riflemen were mounted on fine horses. As was his custom, Little Turtle, a short time before daybreak and when near Fort St. Clair, attacked this encampment on three sides, leaving the side toward the fort open. The horses became frightened from the attack and the men were thrown into confusion; the camp was captured, the men retiring beyond the light of the fire, the Indians being thus exposed. When daylight came so that the whites could be distinguished from the Indians, the savages were in turn attacked, and a running fight was kept up until the Indians were driven off. They were last seen about the spot where Eaton now stands. Two sergeants and four privates were killed and buried in one grave near Fort St. Clair, and the balance of the expedition reached Fort Jefferson without any further adventure.

We might add that thirty years after the first treaty of Greenville, Little Turtle died at Fort Wayne "of gout," which would seem remarkable; but one writer describes him as a high liver and a gentleman. He

was a most astute and sagacious Indian statesman; had wit and humor and intelligence; and, what was really remarkable, he was buried by the United States soldiers with "the honors of war." His body was borne to the grave with the highest military ceremonies by his enemy, the white man. The muffled drum, the funeral salute, denoted that a great soldier had fallen, and even his enemies paid their mournful tribute to his memory. The sun of Indian glory set with him, and the clouds and shadows which for two hundred years had gathered around the destiny of the redman now closed in the starless night of Death.

Yet his memory is still kept green by the many white men who are enrolled in the lodges of "Little Turtle."

And now, in behalf of the citizens of Fort Jefferson and the public in general, I accept this monument and tablet in commemoration of the fort which so well served as a protection for the soldiers who sought refuge and shelter therein on the memorable evening of November 4, 1791, and for the detachments that many times afterward found therein a place of security and rest when on their extended marches and while in the line of duty.

This fort, as is well known, also furnished ample protection for the citizen and soldier during the campaign of General Wayne in 1793 and 1794 while collecting and preparing his army at Fort Greenville for the campaign in the latter year which resulted in the glorious victory at the battle of Fallen Timber with the Indians, Canadians and the British allies, and in the year 1795, during the time elapsing for the collection of the savages, the arrangement for their reception and the final signing of the noted treaty of 1795, and during the dispersion of the members of the various Indian tribes represented at that treaty.

This fort is further memorable for the aid and protection furnished during the war of 1812 with the British and the Indians—a war which resulted in the second treaty of Greenville in 1814, a treaty that gave permanent peace and security to all the settlers in Darke and surrounding counties. And while this fort was secondary to Fort Greenville in importance and history, it still had its place in furnishing the necessary security to the immediate inhabitants of the vicinity.

Gentlemen of the Greenville Historical Society, we appreciate what you have done for us and for Greenville, for we all have a common interest in the result of the labors you are so ably and successfully putting forth in bringing to the public notice the early achievements of our pioneer settlers and the necessity and importance of impressing on the minds of the children of today the blessings of liberty, the love of country and of her institutions which we now enjoy.

Further, permit me to say, sir, we hope that the time will soon come when the labors and influence of the Historical Society of Darke county will succeed in securing an appropriation from the General Government an amount sufficient to erect a suitable monument, with all the necessary

tablets, in the city of Greenville, Ohio, commemorating the establishment of the fort there in 1793, the first treaty with the Indians August 3, 1795, and the second treaty July 22, 1814, together with statues of General St. Clair, General Anthony Wayne and General William H. Harrison, the hero of the victory of the battle of the river Thames, which resulted in the death of Tecumseh and the restoration of a permanent peace with the Indians. This society has a work to perform, and as you have done for us, so do likewise for others who also need your kind assistance.

May you always have ready hands and willing minds to labor successfully in his great work.

HISTORIC ADDRESS.

HON. JAMES I. ALLREAD.

JUDGE COMMON PLEAS COURT, DARKE COUNTY.

The county historical society and the citizens of this community are to be congratulated upon the building of this boulder monument and the placing of this historic tablet marking the ancient site of Fort Jefferson.

The building of this fort by General Arthur St. Clair was an important historical event—important not only in the history of this county, but of the whole Northwest Territory.

Here was built the first permanent structure within the limits of what is now Darke county. And from here the army of volunteers and regulars under St. Clair marched forth to meet the most crushing defeat in all the history of Indian warfare.

The intimate connection of Fort Jefferson with St. Clair's defeat has marked it for obscurity. The illfated expedition is never dignified as St. Clair's campaign nor the engagement as St. Clair's battle, but is designated in all the histories as "St. Clair's Defeat".

It must be remembered, however, that the historical importance of a battle or engagement does not depend wholly upon success.

Bunker Hill was a great defeat for the colonists, yet, historically, it marked the beginning of the struggle for independence.

The defeat of the Union forces at Bull Run aroused the North and made Appomattox possible.

The defeat of St. Clair aroused the national government, inspired the preparation and reorganization of an army which, under General Anthony Wayne, achieved brilliant and complete victory in the battle of the Maumee wilderness and brought the Indian chieftains, humiliated, to the council ending in the Greenville treaty.

The Ohio valley and the Lake Erie region was the scene of the most formidable and sanguinary of all the Indian conflicts. They began with the struggles between the French and English traders; they developed into the French and Indian war; broke out again after the treaty of peace between the French and English, in Pontiac's conspiracy; in

the raids leading to Lord Dunmore's war and a long list of less notable but bloody conflicts up to the outbreak of the War of the Revolution.

At this time the British secured the Indians as their allies, and from Canadian forts inspired and directed a mercenary warfare against their own kindred.

From the time of French dominion the Ohio territory was a part of Canada. And even after the cession of the French possession to the English in 1763 the Ohio river was still the Canadian boundary.

To the achievements of George Rogers Clark, in surprising and reducing the English posts upon the Wabash; the foresight of Washington, who had himself crossed the Ohio country; and the persistence of John Adams, one of the American commissioners, is due the cession of the Northwest Territory at the close of the Revolutionary War. Then for the first time the Canadian border extended only to the Great Lakes. The Ohio country passed thereby under the dominion of the United States, subject only to the Indian title.

To obtain a cession of the Indian titles immediately became the aim of the national government.

In 1784 the treaty of Fort Stanwix was signed by the Six Nations, or Iroquois, ceding title to all lands east of the present western boundary of Pennsylvania.

In the following year the treaty of Fort McIntosh was made with the chiefs of the Delawares, Wyandots, Chippewas and Ottawas, ceding all lands east and south of the Cuyahoga and Great Miami rivers and a line extending from the Indian portages upon the head waters of these streams over a certain defined course, comprising in extent a large part of the present territory of Ohio.

Upon the faith of this treaty Congress provided for the opening up of the lands for settlement.

Some of the Indians, notably the Shawnees and Miamis, were not represented, and all the tribes for one pretext or another became dissatisfied and repudiated the treaty.

In 1789 another treaty was made at Fort Harmar with the Wyandots, Chippewas, Pottawatomic and Sac nations, confirming the treaty of Fort McIntosh. But the very same year this treaty was violated and hostilities resumed.

In the meantime several expeditions had been made into the Indian country, resulting for most part in failure.

In 1778 an expedition under General McIntosh was planned against the Detroit villages. The expedition moved as far as the Tuscarawas, built and garrisoned Fort Laurens, and then returned. The fort itself was abandoned the following year. Shortly after the evacuation of the fort an expedition was sent against the Shawnee villages, but resulted in defeat.

In 1780 the Coshocton campaign under General Broadhead against

the Indian villages at the Muskingum forks -was unimportant in results. While in the same summer General Clarke led a body of 970 Kentuckians against the Shawnees on the Little Miami and Mad rivers, burned their villages and defeated them in battle.

In September, 1782, General Clarke led a second expedition against the Shawnees, burning their villages and destroying their corn.

There were other minor expeditions to the Indian country, but without any permanent results.

In March, 1782, occurred the Moravian massacre, and in June following the unsuccessful expedition of Colonel Crawford.

In June, 1789, Major Dowty with 140 men from Fort Harmar commenced the building of Fort Washington, on the present site of Cincinnati. A few months later General Harmar with 300 men arrived and took command of the fort.

In September, 1799, General Harmar, with a force of 1,300 men, led an expedition against the Indian villages on the Miamis and Maumee. While near the villages on the Maumee, an advance detachment of 300 militia fell into an ambush and met with severe loss. Later a detachment under Colonel Hardin was repulsed with great loss and driven back to the main army. Dispirited by these reverses, General Harmar returned to Fort Washington, his expedition a failure.

In May, 1791, General Scott with 800 men penetrated into the Wabash country and destroyed several Indian villages. In August of the same year General Wilkinson with 500 men destroyed the Kickapoo villages upon the lower Wabash. The only effect of these expeditions was to exasperate and inflame the Indians.

The time had now come for more determined action by the national government. The sturdy pioneers from the older colonies had three years before planted civilization at Marietta, and were rapidly pushing their settlements along the Ohio and into the interior. Israel Ludlow and others had planned a permanent settlement at Fort Washington, and government surveyors had extended government lines between the two Miamis almost to the Indian villages.

The Indians fully realized that town building and pioneer settlement meant the ultimate destruction of their hunting grounds, and that the forest fellers and farm builder would gradually but surely drive them toward the open prairies of the west and the frozen lakes of the north.

Impressed with this belief and goaded by instances of wrongs, imaginary and real, they inaugurated a border warfare of the most intense and deadly character.

The chieftains of the Six Nations, with all the fire of Indian oratory, told the story of their being driven from their rich hunting grounds and the graves of their ancestors in the Mohawk valley. The Delawares, with equal eloquence, told how their council fires on the banks of the Delaware and Susquehanna had been extinguished before the onrushing tide of

the white man's civilization. And the Shawnees, noted for the eloquence of their chieftains, told the story of twenty-five years of border warfare.

The Ohio river, from time immemorial, had been an open highway, separating the territory of the hostile tribes north and south. It was the Mason and Dixon line. And no Indian tribe had the hardihood or daring to plant its villages upon its banks.

The villages of the northern tribes were built upon the upper waters of its tributaries and upon those of the Great Lakes, while the southern tribes found security in the fastnesses of the mountains of Tennessee and in the plains beyond.

This natural and traditional boundary the Indians fondly hoped to establish as the permanent boundary between them and the whites. And this hope furnished the inspiration for their quick and ready repudiation of the treaties ceding portions of the Ohio territory.

The chieftains proclaimed the re-establishment of the Ohio river boundary as their purpose. This declaration found ready response among the savages and became the slogan under which all the tribes were now united. Their hostility threatened every settler. Indian bands roamed the forests from river to lake. The conflict was constant. It was a duel to the death. The shooting down of men and the massacre of women and children were of almost daily occurrence. The passing of boats upon the rivers was interrupted; the blockhouses themselves attacked, and tradition has it that Indian spies were seen skulking in the streets of Cincinnati by night with a view to its attack.

It must not be supposed that the confederacy of Indian tribes confronting the Ohio river settlements at this time were weak numerically or lacking in martial spirit. On the contrary, they were the most powerful, determined and warlike ever encountered in the onward march of civilization.

Chief among all the tribes was the Wyandot, whose villages were near the present site of Detroit and along the Sandusky river, the islands of Lake Erie forming a line of communication.

Their youths were taught that flight or surrender even to a superior force was disgraceful. This trait is exemplified in the incident related of General Wayne requesting the capture of an Indian from Sandusky. The scout of whom this request was made replied that it was impossible, as the Indians there were Wyandots, and could not be taken alive. In the battle of the Fallen Timber it is reported that of the thirteen Wyandot chiefs present but one survived the battle, and he was badly wounded. They were indeed the Spartans of the Indian tribes.

To the warlike Wyandots was intrusted the Grand Calumet, the symbol of union and of power. By this emblem they had the power to call all the tribes and nations together and to kindle the council fires.

Next in importance were the Shawnees. They came originally from south of the Ohio river and established their villages on the banks of

the Scioto, near its midwaters. From their central location they radiated in every direction. Their neighbors were the fierce Wyandots. The Shawnees were restless and aggressive. They were conspicuous in every Indian conflict from the times of the French and Indian wars down to the last Indian treaty. They were in the direct front of immigration, and beat an ugly and reluctant retreat. They were the special object of the war of Lord Dunmore and of the expeditions of General Clarke and others, and were conspicuous in the campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne.

They produced the greatest chieftains: Cornstalk, who led the Indian forces at Point Pleasant; Blue Jacket, prominent in the battles of the Miami country, and who spoke for war in the great council of all the Indian nations and tribes at the Auglaize; Black Hoof, the old man eloquent, who was with the victors at Braddock's defeat, was in all the wars of the Ohio country, and was famed far and wide as a warrior of great sagacity and energy and daring; and Tecumseh, the George Washington of the Indians, who later united all the tribes north and south for final defense against the whites.

The Delawares were originally from east of the Blue Ridge and were driven west, settling first in the Muskingum valley and later on in the Auglaize. They were formerly said to be peaceful, but finally assimilated the spirit of their more warlike neighbors. They marked Colonel Crawford for the stake and carried the sentence into execution.

Their chieftain was Buck-on-gehelas. Some idea of his character may be formed by an incident occurring the day after Wayne's victory at Fort Defiance, fought under the guns of the British fort. Buck-on-gehelas had assembled his tribe in canoes and was passing up the stream to make terms with the victors. Upon approaching the British fort an officer hailed the chieftain and said that the commander wished to speak to him. The chieftain, disgusted with the false promises of the British, said, "In that case, let him come to me." "That will never do," was the reply, "and he will not allow you to pass the fort unless you comply with his wishes."

"What shall prevent my passing?" the chieftain responded.

"These guns," answered the officer, pointing to those commanding the stream.

"I fear not your cannon," the chief replied. "After suffering the Americans to insult your flag without firing upon them, you must not expect to frighten Buck-on-gehelas."

With this scornful reply the canoes passed the fort without molestation.

The Ottawas formerly occupied the valley of the Ottawa river of Canada; they were driven westward, beyond Lake Michigan, thence from place to place until a fragment settled in the Maumee country. Although held among the Indians to be a cowardly tribe, yet they produced the

great Pontiac, who is acknowledged to have been one of the foremost chiefs and warriors of Indian history. Like the Delawares, they were ready pupils in the school of the fierce Wyandots and the aggressive Shawnees.

The Miamis were the original inhabitants of all the section north of the Ohio and between the Scioto and Wabash rivers. Their principal villages were upon the two Miamis and the Miami of the Lake (now Maumee).

To this tribe belonged Little Turtle, who commanded the Indian forces in the campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne, and was conspicuous at the signing of the treaty of Greenville where he plead eloquently for the domain of his ancestors.

In addition to these tribes specially prominent in the frontier history of Ohio, the confederacy included the Kickapoos, Pottawatomie and Chippewas of the Michigan and upper lake regions.

The aggressive chieftains at the time of St. Clair's campaign were Little Turtle, chief of the Miamis; Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawnees; Buck-on-gehelas, chief of the Delawares; and also Simon Girty, the renegade who had attained the rank of chief among the Mingo, and whose atrocities made him the terror and dread of all the frontier settlements. And it has been reported that Joseph Brant, the Mohawk chief, with 150 of his warriors were present at the battle.

The extent of the confederacy at this time was not definitely known, but may be inferred from the gathering of the next year at the council of the Auglaize, of which Corn Planter, the Iroquois chieftain, said, "There were so many nations we could not tell the names of them." This was to be their last desperate stand and their rendezvous was to be in the Miami and Maumee country. Such was the situation which confronted Washington when Congress authorized him to act. Washington was himself an Indian fighter. He was in the defeat of Braddock and later on led the English forces to decisive victories against the combined forces of French and Indians.

Washington planned the campaign. General St. Clair, an officer in the old French wars, a major-general of the war of the revolution, president of the Continental Congress and at that time governor of the Northwest Territory, was chosen to command.

The object was to build a strong military post at the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph with the Maumee, near the Miami villages, to be connected with Fort Washington by an intermediate chain of forts. The purpose was to overawe the Indians and enforce submission.

From January, 1791, St. Clair was engaged in collecting men and supplies. On May 15 he arrived at Fort Washington. By September he had 2,300 available men, of whom 600 were militia. The main army on September 17 moved forward twenty-five miles to a point on the bank of the Great Miami, where Fort Hamilton was built.

The country was then reconnoitered, and on October 12 this point, forty-four miles from Fort Hamilton, was selected for the second fort, and named in honor of Jefferson. Two hundred men under Major Ferguson began the work of constructing the fort, block houses and stockade.

Leaving a strong garrison here, the main army, on the morning of the 24th, again took up the march. They followed an old Indian trail to the present site of Greenville and thence into the unbroken woods. From the hour the army left this fort misfortune beset it at every turn. On the day before leaving Fort Jefferson three men—two deserters and one mutineer—were drawn up before the army and shot. Notwithstanding this, desertions occurred almost daily, and on October 31 sixty militiamen deserted in a body. Fearing they would capture and plunder the wagon trains, St. Clair dispatched the first regiment of regulars to pursue them, save the wagon convoy, if possible, capture the deserters. Thus weakened the remnant of the army pursued its toilsome journey.

Indian scouts "hawkeyed and wolf-hearted," peered from the hills overlooking this fort, and skulked along the line of march. They saw every defection and knew every division. They counted the remnant of the army that on November 3 encamped on the spot of dry ground made famous by the following dawn.

They saw the tired men lie down without a ditch or wall of logs to protect them from attack. The Indian chieftians knew this was the time to strike. Tomorrow the defenses would be put up, and soon the regulars would return. The whole available force of the Indians were now ready for the attack. At the opportune moment, upon the early dawn, it opened with great fury. The onset was terrific. The militiamen, who occupied a position a quarter of a mile in advance, were swept back upon the main army before they could scarcely fire a shot, and the whole army was in consternation. The men, after recovering from the surprise, fought most valiantly. St. Clair, although suffering from the gout, behaved splendidly. He and General Butler, who was second in command, rode up and down the line encouraging the men.

The Indians maintained an advantageous position and kept up a galling crossfire upon our troops who were in the open. They picked off the officers in uniform. Almost all the officers and half the army had been killed or wounded and the remnant was surrounded. The only hope was to cut through the Indian lines. An advance was made, the Indian lines gave way, the retreat began, and soon developed into an utter rout, which continued until Fort Jefferson,—29 miles from the field of action,—was reached. The scene following the beginning of this retreat beggars description. No parallel is found in the annals of history. The Indians were indeed savages. Their brutality and fiendishness knew no bounds. They revelled in human blood. They followed the fleeing army for several miles, putting to torture and to death the wounded and the exhausted

Upon reaching Fort Jefferson, General St. Clair ordered the retreat continued to Fort Washington. The sick and wounded were quartered and cared for at Fort Jefferson. The available army, however, left the same night and arrived at Fort Hamilton on the afternoon of the 6th and at Fort Washington on the 8th.

Thus ended, in dreadful disaster, the campaign so carefully planned. The army was disheartened and almost destroyed, the settlers alarmed and panic-stricken, and the Indians encouraged and emboldened.

General Butler, second in command, Major Ferguson, whose detachment built this fort, and upwards of 900 men, were left upon the field of battle.

The country was alarmed, congress aroused, and a new army was raised, which under Wayne the "Sleepless Chief," struck terror into the hearts of the Indians and made them sue for peace.

The reputation of St. Clair never emerged from the clouds of his defeat. He retained the governorship of the Territory, but his prestige and influence were gone. Under the creation of the new state, he returned to his native state of Pennsylvania and there, within sight of the estates he had sacrificed to the cause of the revolution, spent his last days in poverty.

In January, following the battle of St. Clair's defeat, General Wilkinson accompanied a detachment to the battlefield for the purpose of burying the dead. The bodies showed most cruel torture. They were collected and there, amid the snows and blasts of winter and in the wilderness they sought to recover for civilization, were consigned to earth.

One hundred and sixteen years have passed since the white man's ax rang out in the unbroken wilderness in the construction of this fortification. A transformation has occurred beyond the wildest dreams of the men then living. The Indians have been extirpated, the forests cleared, the lands drained and improved to the highest state of cultivation, homes built and every convenience and comfort installed.

Wayne, upon his arrival here, considered this fort unsafe because of the hills overlooking it, and because of the ease with which it might be attacked, and marched five miles further and built Fort Greenville, where his army was established for the winter.

From this new fort, after thorough preparation, Wayne moved into the wilderness, and to the new fort in triumph he brought the Indians, thoroughly subdued, for final treaty.

Every great event has its influence. The Great Miami was the natural boundary of the first state to be carved out of the Northwest Territory. The early Indian treaties extended to this line. Congress, in providing for the opening up of the lands for settlement, and St. Clair, in fixing the limits of Hamilton county, made the Great Miami the western boundary. But in the mind of Wayne, Fort Recovery—within whose shad-

ows slept the heroic dead of two armies—stood forth as the more appropriate and fitting monument. Fort Recovery, therefore, became the future landmark for treaties and state lines.

Every age has its peculiar problem. The pioneers dealt with the problems of poverty. They struggled for the future. They laid the foundations of a new state. And as we look about in this day of plenty, we should remember the sacrifices and suffering of those who rescued the country from the wilderness and built deep and strong the foundation of our present prosperity.

A WORD FROM THE RED MEN.

L. E. WILLS.

No doubt after hearing of the many depredations by the Indians towards the whites, you wonder why the Little Turtle Tribe of Red Men, an order which was named after the red man, have been invited to assist and participate upon this occasion. And indeed you have cause to wonder, from the fact, as I have said, that we were named after the red men of the forest, and at the time this fort was built the red man and the whites were engaged in a frightful war.

If this was a debate I assure you that I could quote you some history in defense of the red men that would cause many of you to change your minds and your opinions, but as this is not a debate I will just call to mind a few instances that might correct some of your minds in regard to why you are here.

When Columbus discovered and landed on our Eastern shores, his report upon his return was that he had discovered a country inhabited by a copper colored race of people, who, upon the first sight of the white man, became frightened and ran away; but upon repeated efforts became more friendly and showed them much hospitality. That is the first instance in history that we have of the red man. History also teaches us that the primitive red men of the forest were a people who loved their freedom above all things. They were a people who considered their word and promise as sacred as their lives. They were a people to whom vice and treachery were perfect strangers. They were also a God-fearing people, who, history tells us, never entered upon any important duty without offering up an invocation and prayer asking The Great Spirit for his protecting power. When rain failed to descend and the buffalo had forsaken their hunting grounds they gathered together and for days offered up incantation and prayer and smoked the pipe of peace, believing that their words would ascend to Him in the smoke and cause the rain to fall and the buffalo to return. That society at that time was not named the Red Men's Order, but the same people—the same society descended on down until it became the Improved Order of Red Men. And we were

named after the primitive red men of the forest, a people that were not much different from what we are to-day. As I told you, they were a God-fearing people, the same as we. Their word was as sacred to them as their lives, and I am not so sure that that is true of all of us. I am proud to say that I belong to an order that was named after a people as proud and noble as they. Then you might say, why this war? I believe and honestly believe that the white man's greed for land, their superior intelligence, the mistreatment of the red man was the cause of the war, and if I had time I could go back in history and prove the assertion I have made.

Whether that war was right or whether it was wrong great minds have differed and they still differ. At any rate, the red man was driven from the east, driven westward. At that time this country was a wild wilderness. The wild beast roamed at will, and the cry of the stealthy panthers could be heard at any time. The rippling waters of the humblest brooks ran on undisturbed to the great rivers in the great beyond.

The Indians now being driven westward we can imagine that we see the tepee of the Indians placed on those distant hills and the smoke from the tepee ascending into the heavens. We can imagine that we see the dusky squaw. We can also imagine that we see the little dusky papoose playing and roaming at will. Then we can also imagine that we see the band of soldiers that stole, as we are told, through yonder valley and arrived at this spot and built this fort, and no tongue can tell nor no pen thoroughly describe the privations and tortures that they endured before that fort was built.

This is all that I have to say in regard to the Order of Red Men. The Historical Society being acquainted with the history of the Order of Red Men invited us to be here on this occasion and that is why we are here. In regard to the building of the fort and the circumstances connected with it you have been told.

REMARKS BY WESLEY VIETS.

Not having the slightest hint of my name being called on this occasion I am entirely unprepared to come before you, and I do not feel that I can add anything to what has been said in regard to the history of this old fort. All I can say is what I know from my own experience.

I came to this place nearly seventy-three years ago, and it was then comparatively a wilderness. I have played on this spot hundreds of times as a boy and we always called it the war ground. We would say: "We will go over to the war ground and hunt bullets." We would pick up 6-ounce bullets that were shot from the old guns, the old flint lock that we had to load and prime it. Powder was ignited through a flint and we still had them when I was old enough to shoot squirrels in that woods. Pocket money was a little scarce and we boys would

come over here and hunt bullets and then mold them into small bullets to use in squirrel hunting.

In regard to the fort, a great many asked me where the old fort was. Now I can't tell that. I am not old enough to remember. I remember very distinctly what we called a magazine stood right about where that apple tree stands, and here was another magazine right here, and down below the hill was a large spring. There was an underground ditch dug from that magazine and it was dug deep enough that a man could walk underneath from that magazine to this one and from there it extended to the spring below. That was covered with what we called puncheon laid across the ditch and then covered with dirt, and this underground ditch was used for protection in going from one place to another for water. You can see the low place right along there extending to that magazine and from that on down it goes to that old spring, which has been running ever since I can remember and still affords water. Then across on the other hill there is another place that there was said to be a magazine. And I remember when there was a dam from the road across the creek there, which was called the beaver dam, but what it was put there for I don't know.

I can remember when there was but one frame house in this place: that stood on the corner there and was burned down three years ago. There was at that time eight or ten log cabins. I can remember when every frame house in the town was raised. Our first school house was built all of round logs. The fire place took wood in four feet long. The wood was hauled by the patrons of the school and piled up, and the pupils would go out and chop it. It would take two or three boys to carry the back log, as we called it. The chimney was made of sticks. That was burned down finally and we put up a frame school house on the same site. We would have school generally three months in the year. About the holidays we had great times. We turned the teacher out, and if he was a little obstinate and didn't like to come to our terms about a treat we would take him down to the creek, cut a hole in the ice and put his head in the water a while.

My father came here between 1813 and 1815. In looking over old papers a few years ago I found a license reading something like this: "This is to certify that Hezekiah Viets has the privilege of bringing a store to and selling goods in Fort Jefferson from this date until the sitting of the next court, which will probably be in July."

This small tract of ground which was called the old war ground was all cleared off, not even any stumps on it. We didn't consider it anything to pick up a bayonet, a musket barrel, an old lock, Indian tomahawk and bomb shells. In clearing the farm above here I found in the fork of a tree a part of a bomb shell half as large as my hand. I found in 1860 one bomb shell that was called an eight pounder. That was filled with

powder yet and had the cork in where the fuse was attached, but the powder had been wet and would not ignite. We had not yet learned to appreciate these old relics and failed to take care of them, consequently they were mislaid or destroyed. Only a few years ago I picked up a half dozen grape shot, a scalping knife, and what they called a bullet puller, to draw the loads from the guns. I picked them up right here, just north of the house there. But in regard to the old fort, I have paid but little attention to its history.



**TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO
STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**

FEBRUARY 26, 1908.

The twenty-third annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society was held in the parlors of the Y. M. C. A. building, Columbus, Ohio, at 10 A. M., Wednesday, February 26, 1908. The following members were present:

Prof. Martin R. Andrews, Marietta.
Gen. R. Brinkerhoff, Mansfield.
Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester.
Hon. J. H. Beal, Scio.
Dr. D. H. Gard, Columbus.
Prof. A. B. Hulbert, Marietta.
Rev. I. F. King, Columbus.
Rev. N. B. C. Love, Perrysburg.
Prof. C. L. Martzoff, Athens.
Prof. W. C. Mills, Columbus.
Prof. B. F. Prince, Springfield.
Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus.
Dr. William Shepard, Shepard Station.
Dr. H. A. Thompson, Dayton.
Mr. H. O. Whittaker, New Burlington.
Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus.

Letters of regret because of their inability to attend the annual meeting and expressing their continued interest in the Society were received from:

D. J. Ryan, Columbus; A. J. Baughman, Mansfield; Z. T. Smith, Upper Sandusky; Thomas J. Brown, Waynesville; R. E. Hills, Delaware; R. W. McFarland, Oxford; G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin; Albert Douglas, Chillicothe; Rufus W. Clark, Detroit, Mich.; Mrs. Mary McA. Tuttle, Hillsboro; Martin B. Bushnell, Mansfield; F. H. Darby, Columbus; and William H. Rice, Gnadenhutten.

The meeting was called to order by Vice-President G. F. Bareis, President Brinkerhoff not yet having arrived.

Mr. Bareis in his introductory remarks spoke of the work accomplished by the Society during the past year. He complimented the Executive Committee, the members of which have faithfully attended the meetings and have so interestedly looked after the affairs of the Society. He said that they had done work neither for money nor for fame, but purely from interest in the work, and therefore probably labored better than they otherwise would. He congratulated the Curator, Professor Mills, upon the admirable manner in which the latter had conducted the exhibit of the Society at the Jamestown Exposition, where it had received the greatest honors for an archaeological and historical display. The Society has received the highest awards in its department at the World's Columbian Exposition and the expositions at Buffalo, St. Louis and now at Jamestown. He spoke also of the services of the secretary in behalf of the Society. He touched briefly upon the building project as being a perennial subject at the annual meetings, the subject having been first brought before the Society by President Sessions some fifteen years ago. Vice-President Bareis particularly urged that the proposed plans of interesting the school children of the state in the study of our state history be carried to some tangible results, saying: "Children who study history soon begin to love their country; to love all things good and true. They learn of the past; they learn how to perform their duties in the present and as they are the ones who must be depended upon in the future, so we should especially incite them to interest in the work of our Society. Some of us, perhaps, study history and archaeology as a pastime. If we do it with only that purpose in view, it is a great benefit to us, but when we study it as a science, then it affords strength for our progress and gives us valuable information; it points out the paths in which other people have walked. We see their stepping-stones and we also see where their pitfalls lay. So I say, the study of history is one that greatly deserves our attention, perhaps more attention than the general run of men and women give it and it belongs to us to interest the general public in the study of history and archae-

ology for the same reasons. Those of us who have become familiar with the story of our own state, have learned the value of union — of united effort, of an admiration for truth and right, and we also see the fatal end of factions and all these things together are beneficial to the student, and therefore the state loses nothing by appropriating certain amounts of money annually for the work of this Society. In fact the state gains thereby, because the patriotism, the love of country and its achievements all incite both young and old to better and higher citizenship." The remarks of Mr. Bareis met with hearty approval.

REPORT OF SECRETARY.

MEETINGS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Meetings of the executive committee were held, since the last Annual Meeting, (March 22, 1907) as follows:

April 19, 1907. Messrs. Bareis, Harper, Martzloff, King, Prince, Ryan, Randall and Wood were present. The compensations of the salaried officers of the Society were continued for the ensuing year (1907) the same as they had been for the previous year — no changes being made. The standing sub-committees for the ensuing year (1907) were appointed as follows:

Big Bottom Park: Messrs. Martzloff, Prince and Bareis.

Finance: Messrs. Wood, Ryan and Bareis.

Fort Ancient: Messrs. Prince, Harper and Martzloff.

Jamestown Exposition: Messrs. Mills, Wright and Prince.

Museum and Library: Messrs. King, Wright and Mills.

Publications: Messrs. Ryan, Randall and Wood.

Serpent Mound: Messrs. Wright, Brinkerhoff and Randall.

Messrs. Martzloff, Randall and Ryan were appointed a committee to draw up some plan for awarding prizes by the Society to the school children of the state for the best essays or papers on some subject or subjects pertaining to Ohio History.

August 14, 1907. Messrs. Bareis, Prince, Randall, Wood and Wright were present. Fifteen new life members were elected. Their names are given elsewhere in this report. Messrs. Randall, Prince and Bareis were selected a committee to open negotiations with the Ridges looking toward the purchase of the Ridge Tract of Fort Ancient. This subject is fully exploited elsewhere in this report.

October 11, 1907. Messrs. Bareis, Harper, Martzloff, King, Prince, Ryan, Randall and Wood were present. The exploration of the Mary Vincent Mound by Mr. A. B. Coover (October 25) was approved. Mr. Coover's account of this exploration is found beginning on page 36 of

this (17th) Volume. Report of the Ridge Tract Negotiating Committee (Messrs. Prince, Randall and Wood, the latter acting in place of Mr. Bareis). The committee met on September 28, (1907) at Fort Ancient, Messrs. George Ridge, owner of the tract, J. Maurice Ridge, grandson of and agent for George Ridge and wife and Prof. L. S. Meloy of Springfield, son-in-law of George Ridge. The result of the conference was the giving of a signed option by the Ridges to the Society on the so-called Ridge Tract consisting of about twenty-one acres embracing the north end of the fort and some thousand feet of fort wall. This, however, excluded certain small lots of land inside the fort wall but not coming in contact with it. The price to be paid by the Society was eighteen hundred dollars, (\$1800) subject to an appropriation for that purpose by the Legislature. The Ridges further agreed to endeavor to rebuy the lots sold within the fort at the selling price (\$400.00) in all and sell same to the Society at same price (\$400.00). This option was to remain open until the "adjournment of the coming session of the State Legislature." Four life members were elected to the Society. Prof. Martzloff made report of the improvements he had superintended at Big Bottom Park. The Secretary of the Society was authorized to confer with Mr. Chester M. Poor concerning the prospective purchase of that section of the Fort Ancient property known as the Poor Strip. The Secretary was directed to call together the entire Board of Trustees, before January 1, 1908, that arrangements might be made by them for the then forthcoming Annual Meeting which must, according to the Constitution be "within thirty days" after February 1. The Secretary and Treasurer were authorized to prepare the budget of appropriations estimated to be needed by the Society and required to be submitted to the Auditor of State in December.

December 12, 1907. The entire Board of Trustees met in the Directors' Room of the Ohio State Savings & Loan Association, Outlook Building, the place where each of the previous Executive Committee Meetings were held. There were present: Messrs. Andrews, Bareis, Baughman, Hills, Harper, King, Martzloff, Prince, Randall, Ryan, Thompson, Wood and Curator Mills. Letters regretting inability to attend were received from Messrs. Beal, Brinkerhoff, Love, Keifer and Wright. The Secretary reported he had received an option on the Poor Strip, consisting of some three acres and including a small section of the west wall of the new Fort (Ancient). He had also had the same surveyed by Clinton Cowen, official surveyor for Hamilton County. The purchase price, called for in the option, was two hundred and fifty dollars. The purchase of this property was authorized, the deed to be made direct to the State of Ohio, and not to the Society, all other portions of Fort Ancient purchased by the state having been so deeded. Professor Mills made a report on the exhibit of the Society at the Jamestown Exposition which closed November 1. The Secretary made lengthy report of the status of the project of securing a building for the Society, or quarters.

for the same in connection with the State Library. Nothing of course could be done or prophesied until the meeting of the Legislature. Report was made of the budget asked for by the Society for the ensuing year and placed in the estimate made by the Auditor of State to be furnished the Legislature at its convening. This budget, as approved by the Trustees, is given elsewhere in the Secretary's Annual Report. Several life members were elected. A committee to fix time and program of the coming annual meeting was named as follows: Ryan, Martzloff, Prince, Wood and Randall. This committee met December 27, (1907) and agreed upon Wednesday, February 26, 1908, as the date of the Annual Meeting. A detailed program was suggested, embracing sessions in the morning, afternoon and evening, the latter if possible to be a public meeting in the Senate Chamber, State House. The latter, namely the evening session, was subsequently abandoned because it transpired that at that time the Legislature would hold in the House of Representatives, services in memory of the late Governor Pattison.

PUBLICATIONS.

Since the last Annual Meeting, the Society has completed the reprinting of the fifteen volumes of *Annals* in accordance with appropriation of 1907, (\$9,600) made for that purpose. Each member of the legislature was to receive ten complete sets, one hundred and fifty volumes in all. These have been boxed and shipped by the Society as authorized, a return postal was sent to each recipient with receipted bill of lading at time of shipment. The return cards evidenced the delivery to every member. With the October (1907) *Quarterly*, the sixteenth volume of our *Annals* was completed. The four *Quarterlies*, viz: for January, April, July and October, 1907, were also issued in book form. Its contents bespeak the interest and value of this volume. The special reports of Curator Mills, describing his explorations the last three years, and previously printed in the *Annals* and also in separate pamphlet form, were issued in bound form. The edition is limited, however, and not for gratuitous distribution. The Society now has in preparation a volume of the "Poems on Ohio," compiled by Professor Martzloff, and a small illustrated work entitled, "The Masterpieces of the Mound Builders," prepared by the Secretary.

PURCHASE OF THE POOR STRIP.

It will be recalled that at various times in the past years the Trustees have considered the purchase of what is known as the "Poor Strip." This is a triangular piece of land, including a corner of the west wall of the North Fort (Ancient). Mr. Chester M. Poor of Glendale, Hamilton county, owns some forty acres west of the north fort extending from the line of the fort property down the hillside to the railroad track and

incorporating the hotel. To make our title to the fort wall complete and include the outside strip to our line on either side of the Poor property it was necessary to secure about three acres. Under direction of the Executive Committee, given at its meeting August 14, (1907) the Secretary entered into negotiations with Mr. Poor resulting in the securing of a written option from Mr. Poor upon the three acres desired, as reported in the Executive Committee Meeting for December 12, (1907). The Secretary had secured the survey of the land and the required information as to title from the county recorder of Warren County, Lebanon, Ohio. The deed was drawn and delivered by Mr. Poor on December 28, (1907). The purchase price (\$250.00) was paid to the grantor by voucher signed by the President, Treasurer and Secretary of the Society. The State of Ohio is the grantee of the deed which was duly recorded in the Warren County Recorder's Office and deposited with the Auditor of State in accordance with Section 179, Revised Statutes. The deed and all correspondence covering the same is fully set forth in the typewritten minutes of the proceedings of the meetings of the Executive Committee. The Auditor of State's receipt for the deed is as follows:

"STATE OF OHIO.

"AUDITOR OF STATE'S OFFICE.

"COLUMBUS, JANUARY 23, 1908.

"Received from E. O. Randall, Secy. Ohio State Archaeological Society, deed of three acres of land by Chester M. Poor and wife to the State of Ohio, being land adjoining and including small section of wall of Fort Ancient, situated in Warren county.

"W. D. GUILBERT.

Auditor of State."

"(By O. J. Land Clerk.)

PROPOSED PURCHASE OF THE RIDGE TRACT.

The subject of the purchase of the Ridge Tract, comprising the north wall of the North Fort Ancient and conveying with it some twenty acres of land has been a "continued story" ever since the present Secretary came into office. Once the sale was agreed upon and the purchase price about to be paid when negotiations fell through. Negotiations were reopened during a visit to Fort Ancient on July 14, (1907) by Messrs. Prince and Randall when they met Mr. George Ridge the proprietor of the property in question. The purchase was informally discussed. As noted elsewhere in the proceedings of the Executive Committee; the Fort Ancient Committee was empowered to proceed with negotiations. On September 28, (1907) the committee as heretofore related visited Fort Ancient and met the Ridge party. The result was the granting of an option to the

Society for the Ridge Tract for \$1800.00 and a further option of \$400.00 more, (total \$2,200.00) for the lots sold by the Ridges but probably subject to repurchase. The further proceedings in this continuous performance depend upon the Legislature now in session. The budget of legislative appropriations asked for by the Society calls for \$2200.00 "for purchase of remainder of Fort Ancient." Should the Legislature acquiesce in this request the State of Ohio will then hold the entire Fort, and there will be no other entrenchments to attack and take.

BUILDING PROJECT.

On this subject the Secretary spoke at some length, outlining the situation at the time of this report. Nothing had, of course, been accomplished since the last Annual Meeting of the Society, there having been no meeting of the Legislature until the convening of the present session of this (77th) general assembly. This session met January 6th, 1908. The question of the legal status of this session, namely whether it was an adjourned or a new session, was finally disposed of by the Legislature deciding to regard it as an adjourned session, but deciding also at the same time to "clear the calendar in both the Senate and the House of all bills introduced in the last session and now pending." This action required that all bills be introduced again *ab initio*. This action consigned the Crist Bill, with all others, to the waste-basket. After consultation with various parties in interest, particularly the State Library and the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Senator Crist re-cast his bill and re-introduced it. It was practically the same bill as that of two years ago—the Auditor of State being substituted for the Governor, as the ex-officio member of the Building Commission, and any definite appropriation also being omitted from the bill. The bill, as thus revised, was introduced in the Senate and referred back to the Library Committee. At this juncture the movement took a new phase. Consultations participated in by the Library Committee of the House, the Library Committee of the Senate, the Governor, Attorney General, State Librarian, Adjutant General, Secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society and a committee of citizens from the Columbus Board of Trade, were held, resulting in the drafting of a new bill calling for the purchase of 312 feet fronting on Third Street, immediately east of the Capitol, and extending to the alley between Third and Fourth Streets, for the sum of \$400,000, that being the aggregate selling price agreed upon by the property holders from the Y. M. C. A. building to Mrs. Whiting's house, inclusive, the project being to utilize the Y. M. C. A. building and the Vendome Hotel for state offices until the remainder of the square south of Mrs. Whiting's house could be purchased and new state buildings erected upon the property thus obtained. This bill was substituted by Mr. Crist for his previous bill and was reported out by the Senate Library Committee and referred to the Finance Committee, where it now rests.

What the outcome will be, no one can tell, but it is doubtful if anything is accomplished along this line by this Legislature.

ITINERARY OF THE SECRETARY.

Since the last Annual Meeting, the Secretary has made journeys as representative of the Society as follows:

June 12, 1907. To Maumee.

July 13, 1907. Spruce Hill Fort, Ross county.

July 14, 1907. Fort Ancient, accompanied by Trustee Prince.

July 15, 1907. The Secretary was elected Vice-President for Ohio of the West Virginia Point Pleasant National Monument Association, the purpose of which is to secure an appropriation from Congress for the erection of a suitable monument on the site of the Battle of Point Pleasant, where General Lewis defeated Cornstalk, October 10, 1774.

July 20, 1907. Glenford Fort, Perry county.

July 25, 1907. Dayton to confer with Father Bigot.

August 1, 1907. Fort Ancient.

August 4, 1907. Attended Lakeside Chautauqua and spoke on "Racial Contest for the Ohio Country;" Trustee D. J. Ryan spoke on "Contest for Statehood in Ohio."

August 6, 1907. Attended the unveiling of Perry's Victory Monument at Hotel Victory, Put-in-Bay, Lake Erie.

August 8, 1907. Buffalo Historical Society.

August 17, 1907. In company with Trustee Wright, visited Fort Miami, Hamilton county.

August 21, 1907. Fort Hamilton, Butler county.

September 13, 1907. Attended exercises on Ohio Day at Jamestown Exposition.

September 28, 1907. Visited Fort Ancient with Trustees Prince and Wood.

October 19, 1907. Visited Fort Ancient with Trustee Ryan and Senators Hafner and Huffman.

October 25, 1907. Visited Madisonville, near Cincinnati, and inspected the explorations in the famous Madisonville pre-historic cemetery, being conducted by the Archaeological Department of Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. The explorations were under the direction of Prof. F. W. Putnam, the immediate explorers being Mr. R. E. Merwin and Mr. Hayden of Harvard University.

October 26, 1907. Visited Serpent Mound, accompanied by Senator I. F. Huffman, Hon. Bert Bartlow and Mr. Morey of Hamilton, Ohio.

November 29 and 30, 1907. Attended the Ohio Valley Historical Conference, held in the auditorium of the Cincinnati University, Cincinnati, Ohio. An account of this conference is given on page 99, *supra*, of this volume.

January 17 and 18, 1908. Visited Cincinnati to attend council of the Executive Committee of the Ohio Valley Historical Conference Association. Was elected President of the Association for the ensuing year (1908).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

Owing to the absence of Curator Mills, in charge of the Society's exhibit at the Jamestown exposition, he was unable to conduct the usual summer explorations of mounds. Mr. A. B. Coover, who has for several seasons assisted Prof. Mills in the latter's investigations, was placed in charge of the Museum and Library and most acceptably discharged the duties of the office. He explored the Mary Dean Vincent Mound, of which a full account is published in the January, 1908, Quarterly of the Society. Prof. Mills will make a report of the exhibit of the Society at Jamestown and the most successful result of the Society's display.

APPOINTMENT OF TRUSTEES.

February 17, 1908, Governor Harris re-appointed as Trustees of the Society for three years, Prof. B. F. Prince of Springfield and E. O. Randall of Columbus. They will serve until February, 1911.

NEW LIFE MEMBERS.

Since the Annual Meeting last year the following have been admitted to Life Membership:

Charles A. Hanna, New York, N. Y.
Jacob G. Schmidlapp, Cincinnati.
Florien Giauque, Cincinnati.
George M. Finckel, Columbus.
William H. Taft, Washington, D. C.
George R. Love, Toledo.
John W. Harper, Cincinnati.
Rufus B. Smith, Cincinnati.
Drausin Wulsin, Cincinnati.
Frazer E. Wilson, Greenville.
Frank L. Pfaff, Cincinnati.
Frank P. Goodwin, Cincinnati.
The Business Men's Club Co., Cincinnati.
J. A. Easton, Bell, Highland county.
J. F. Richmond, McConnelsville.
Mrs. Livia Simpson Poffenberger, Point Pleasant, W. Va.
John H. Miller, Cincinnati.
The Walnut Hills Business Men's Club, Cincinnati.
E. B. Vincent, Swifts.
Mrs. Thomas J. Emery, Cincinnati.

Alfred M. Cohen, Cincinnati.
 F. H. Darby, Columbus.
 Rufus W. Clark, Detroit, Mich.
 Clinton Cowen, Cincinnati.
 C. S. Van Tassel, Bowling Green.
 John P. Smith, Sharpsburg, Md.
 Bert Bartlow, Hamilton.
 Frederick Shedd, Columbus.
 Charles A. Dana, Marietta.

APPROPRIATIONS.

The Secretary and Treasurer submitted to Auditor Guilbert last December, the following desired appropriations to be asked of the present legislature:

Current expenses\$2700.00
 This is the same as for the last two years.
 For publications\$2800.00
 This is the same as for the last two years.
 For field work, Fort Ancient and Serpent Mound.....\$2500.00
 This is \$500 more than for last two years.
 For the purchase of Fort Ancient, (Ridge Tract).....\$2200.00

It is of course impossible to state thus early in the session what will be the result of the considerations of the Finance Committees of the House and Senate concerning the appropriations asked for by the Society. The members of both committees seem friendly to the Society and will probably deal justly with our requests.

Respectfully submitted,
 E. O. RANDALL,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR YEAR ENDING FEB. 1, 1908.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand Feb. 1st, 1907.....	\$1,827 12
Life membership dues.....	395 00
Active membership dues.....	102 00
Books sold	66 15
Subscriptions	26 00
Refunded by W. C. Mills.....	21 55
Ohio Commission, Jamestown Exposition.....	2,000 00
Interest on permanent fund.....	244 50
From Treasurer of State:	
Appropriation for current expenses.....	2,377 98
Appropriation for Publications.....	3,204 40

Appropriation for reprinting publications.....	13,600 00
Appropriation for Field Work, Ft. Ancient, and Ser- pent Mound	1,247 65
Total receipts	<u>\$25,112 35</u>

DISBURSEMENTS.

Reprinting Publications	\$13,600 00
Publications	2,541 98
Expenses of Trustees and Committees.....	247 75
Job Printing	11 25
Postage	77 26
Field Work	7 65
Museum and Library.....	766 12
Salaries (3)	2,200 00
Express and drayage.....	98 15
Big Bottom Park.....	34 86
Serpent Mound, Improvements and care.....	323 86
Ft. Ancient, improvements, care and purchase.....	871 10
Jamestown Exposition, exhibit.....	2,375 77
Refunded to Ohio Commission, Jamestown Exposition....	89 73
Premium on Treasurer's bond.....	15 00
Ohio News Bureau.....	22 00
Transferred to Permanent Fund.....	660 06
Sundry expenses	8 64
Balance on hand, February 1st, 1908.....	<u>1,161 35</u>

Total \$25,112 35

The Permanent Fund now amounts to the sum of \$5,500.00.

Respectfully submitted,

E. F. Wood,
Treasurer.

REPORT OF THE CURATOR.

I have the honor as Curator and Librarian to make my annual report upon the condition of the museum and library located in Page Hall, O. S. U., as well as the final report concerning the Archaeological exhibit by the Society at the Jamestown Exposition, Norfolk, Va.

During the year the Archaeological Museum has not kept pace with former years in the way of added specimens. This was on account of the absence of the Curator from early June until late December at the Jamestown Exposition, as no actual field explorations were undertaken.

In my last report I gave an account of the proposed exhibit by the Society at the Jamestown Exposition, which makes the fourth time this

Society has been called upon to represent Ohio at the various expositions in this country. Profiting by past expositions, the curator endeavored to make the Jamestown exhibit the largest and perhaps the most comprehensive this Society has ever made, and from every point of view our display was a complete success.

The Society was requested by the Ohio Jamestown Commission, to place on exhibition at the Jamestown Exposition, a representative Archaeological collection of the State of Ohio.

The division of History and Education at Jamestown was fortunately under the direction of two very estimable gentlemen, J. Taylor Ellyson of Richmond, Va., Governor of the Division, and Dr. J. A. C. Chandler, also of Richmond, Director of the Division, and very great credit is due them for the interest shown in the Ohio Exhibition.

The History Building was of fire-proof construction and contained besides the Ohio Archaeological collection, perhaps the largest collection of priceless relics, manuscripts and books bearing upon the earlier colonial period of America, ever assembled under one roof.

The Ohio Exhibit occupied about eighteen hundred feet of floor space near the entrance to the main exhibition room from the south and the books representing the publications of the Society, were placed in a book case near the south entrance to the room. The general plan of exhibiting the collection under the three divisions planned by the committee was carried out in detail.

First, the Publications of the Society.

Second, Models of Prehistoric earth-works owned by the state and kept as free public parks.

Third, Results of the explorations by the Society.

In the first division, an exhibit of all the publications of the Society from the beginning to the present time was made.

Models of Fort Ancient Park and Serpent Mound Park constituted the second division. The models for the most part were made of wood and covered with a light covering of plaster varying in thickness from one to one-half inches. The object in using such a small amount of plaster was to lighten the models in order that they might be safely transported to Jamestown and easily handled in placing the same on exhibit. The model of Fort Ancient was made after the survey of Mr. T. B. Van Horn. The size of the model is fifty-three inches by fifty-four inches. Horizontal scale 1 inch equals 100 feet. Vertical 1 inch equals 50 feet.

The model of Serpent Mound Park was made after the survey of Clinton Cowen, 1901. Scale 3 inches equals 100 feet. Horizontal and Vertical equal.

In the third division of the exhibit was shown the results of explorations by the Society together with models of mounds and graves. The entire exhibit occupied twenty-two large show cases. The largest col-

lective exhibit and perhaps the most interesting one, was from the Edwin Harness Mound, and occupied seven cases on the west side of the main aisle, a full account of which appears in volume sixteen of the Society's publications.

Three cases were filled with the artifacts taken from the graves and these were most interesting as to quality and quantity, representing the highest art of prehistoric man in Ohio.

Case number 9 contained a representative collection from the recently explored (1906) Seip Mound, which is located in the famous Paint Creek Valley, Ross county, Ohio.

Case number 10 contained a representative collection from the Adena Mound, examined in 1901. This case attracted great attention because of the excellent specimens of copper and bone and the finely carved tubular pipe taken from one of the graves. The Adena Mound Pipe is the finest specimen of prehistoric miniature sculpture found in the Ohio Valley.

Case number 11 contained a representative collection from the Gartner Mound and Village Site.

Cases Nos. 12, 13 and 14 contained results of the explorations of the Baum Village Site and show the artifacts taken from the Teepee Sites and graves from every portion of the village. The remainder of the cases contained representative type collections of artifacts of the prehistoric peoples of Ohio such as grooved axes, pestles, celts, banner stones, hematite objects and a fine collection of arrow and spear points.

The jury on awards after making a thorough examination of the exhibit and the methods of exploration, bestowed upon the Society a gold medal, the highest award in the department.

The Archaeological collection, together with the new cases necessary for its exhibition at Jamestown, were safely returned to Page Hall without the loss of a single specimen and the expenses of the exhibit did not exceed the appropriation. Since my return the greater part of my time has been employed in making room for the new cases from the Exposition. In my former reports to the Society, I stated that the large exhibition room was greatly crowded, but a visit now will convince you it is over-crowded. By a re-arrangement of the cases, I was enabled to use eighteen of the new cases in the main exhibition room, enabling me to place on exhibition a number of collections which had come to us unsolicited during the past few years and also to place on exhibition a part of the collections secured through the explorations in the field, but we hope that there will be some way found to relieve the crowded condition of affairs, as we have in the room entirely too many cases which already contain too many specimens.

The new additions have necessitated an entire re-arrangement of the specimens in the various cases and the work of arranging the museum so it will properly fulfill its functions is a work not only of great magnitude but of extreme difficulty.

During the year a number of collections have been presented to the museum. Mr. Almer Hegler of Washington C. H. has sent a new consignment to this splendid collection from his vicinity in Fayette Co. Mr. George M. Finckel, 1477 Fair Ave., Columbus, has presented to the Society a large collection of grooved axes, celts, slate pieces, spear points, arrow points, chisels, rough and unfinished pieces from the region of Washington, D. C., and since his original consignment in April, 1907, he has sent two other collections from the same region, one of 508 pieces and the other of 44. The collection presented by Mr. Finckel is one of very great interest and fully represents the archaeology of the country surrounding Washington.

From Mr. Rains, Roxabell, Ohio, a collection of thirty-five flint knives from Roxabell and vicinity were received. From Mr. C. P. Thompson, a consignment of ninety-eight specimens were received to add to his already large collection in the museum. The specimens consist of pestles, grooved hammers, and axes, celts, unfinished slate pieces of various kinds, arrow points, spear points from the vicinity of Galena, Ohio. Mr. Thompson's collection is from one section and it is most valuable because it shows what may be found in his particular part of the state.

From Mr. Wilbur Stout, of Sciotoville, Ohio, we have received a number of specimens including celts, spear points, arrow points, grooved axes and hammer stones from Scioto County. Mr. Stout has added to his collection from year to year and he will soon have one of the most interesting collection of relics from the vicinity of Sciotoville to be found in that part of the country.

From Mr. T. B. Bowers, of Columbus, Ohio, we have received two more consignments for the Bowers' collection from the vicinity of Columbus. Mr. Bowers is an enthusiastic worker and never permits an opportunity to escape him in securing specimens for the Bowers' collection. His last additions include splendid examples of grooved axes, and polished celts as well as large and fine specimens of chipped implements.

Mr. D. H. King, of Glenford, Ohio, presented a small collection of celts, arrow points, spear points and flint knives. They were found in the vicinity of Glenford.

Mr. Ezra G. Gard, of North Bend, Ohio, presented a collection of grooved axes, celts and pestles. These were all collected at North Bend.

It gives me great pleasure to speak of the rapidly growing library with its splendid collection of scientific and historical publications, and which shows 3104 bound volumes recorded in the accession book. Apparently this does not seem to be a great many additions since our last report, but considering that all of the volumes added to our library are received by gift or in exchange for our publications, the growth of the library is more than satisfactory.

We have placed three new nine foot table cases in the library and it

is the intention to fill them with manuscripts and rare publications. During the year we have received a number of interesting letters and old papers. Among them is a collection of old letters written from Lancaster, Ohio, between the years 1802 and 1821 by members of the Carpenter family. These were presented by Seymour D. Carpenter of Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Almer Hegler of Washington C. H. has presented to the library a document giving the appraised value of the Ohio Company's cattle, which were imported from England in 1834, and also a silk badge used by the members of the Ohio Company.

From Mr. H. M. Gortner, No. 69 N. Princeton Ave., Columbus, we received fifteen copies of the "Circleville Herald", all of the year 1846, and from Miss Alice Butterfield, No. 710 Penobscot Building, Detroit, Mich., we received Mr. C. W. Butterfield's notebook, giving list of authorities for various works, also a number of autograph copies of various books and pamphlets.

From Prof. J. A. Bownocker, of Columbus, we received a copy of the "Columbia Republican" printed at Hudson, Ohio, January 19, 1861.

From Mr. John Seip, Chillicothe, we received a letter written by Mr. David Bell of Washington C. H. dated the 20th of July, 1797, to Thomas Worthington, Massieville, Ross Co., Ohio.

From Gen. Alfred A. Thomas, Dayton, we received copies of a valuable pamphlet giving genealogy and history of the Thomas family.

Pleasant relations have been established with kindred institutions and our exchanges with these institutions are constantly on the increase. The curator has had the satisfaction of meeting personally the representatives of other societies in this country and finds that the work which has been done by the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society is of a character which meets with approval. I wish to thank the officers and members of the Executive Committee for their help and encouragement afforded me during the past year and especially the Secretary, who has constantly aided me in making my work pleasant and agreeable.

Respectfully submitted,

W. C. MILLS,
Curator.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FORT ANCIENT.

A number of visits have been made during the year and certain improvements have been suggested and consummated. The roadway from the entrance to the great gateway, about one-half mile in extent, has been re-graveled.

An ice house has been built, and other minor improvements have been made.

On the west side of the fort a small portion of the wall still belonged to a private owner. A tract of three acres has been purchased

and gives us entire control of the west wall and also straightens the line which formerly was broken by various angles. This new purchase is of the Fort year by year and making it a delightful place to visit. now enclosed by a substantial fence.

The Custodian, Mr. Warren Cowen, is improving the appearance
Respectfully submitted,

B. F. PRINCE,
Chairman of the Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BIG BOTTOM PARK.

My report is necessarily short. I have attended, from time to time, the different meetings of the Executive Committee, and in addition to what was accomplished since the last meeting of the Executive Committee, last fall in the month of September, I think it was, I supervised the placing of sign boards in conspicuous places. We have one large sign with the words, "Big Bottom Park" in white letters; a smaller one with the name, "The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society". These sign boards are conspicuous from the roadway and people on passing boats on the river and railway trains on the other side of the river can see them. At the same time we made a gravel walk from the front entrance up to and around the monument, and made a terrace of some twenty-five feet square around the monument. We are arranging now for the planting of additional trees. I visited the park recently and entered into arrangements with a gentleman who is doing our work there, for the planting of forty additional rapid growing maples and two English walnut trees that were presented to the Society by Dr. H. L. True, of McConnelsville. We seeded the terrace last fall but it did not take and I have had our Custodian haul some fertile earth and rake it down and replant it and sow it in grass. In addition to that I would suggest the erection of a gate at the entrance. We have an entry there of about 18 feet, but no protection to prevent passing cattle from intruding upon the park. During an interview, the local planing mill man stated he could construct a gate there, if we so desired. The trees have all grown with but one exception, and by the time we have the forty-two trees planted, that I arranged for last Saturday, we will have about one hundred trees planted on the two acres.

Respectfully submitted,

C. L. MARTZOLFF,
Chairman of the Committee.

It was moved and carried that the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society become a federated member of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, by the payment of ten dol-

lars, and that the Executive Committee be authorized to choose delegates to the next annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association.

* * *

Mr. H. O. Whitaker presented to the Society a brass kettle which was cast in Pennsylvania before the American Revolution and brought into Ohio in 1801.

* * *

Messrs. Beal and King were appointed a committee of two to audit the accounts of the Treasurer.

* * *

ELECTION OF TRUSTEES.

A committee of three, consisting of Messrs. Prince, Thompson and Wood, were appointed to nominate five trustees to serve for the ensuing three years, in the place of those whose terms expired at this meeting, namely, Messrs. Anderson, Hills, Kilbourne, Martzloff and Wright. This committee retired, and after due deliberation, reported to the meeting the names of R. E. Hills, Delaware, C. L. Martzloff, Athens, G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin, Albert Douglas, Chillicothe, and W. H. Rice, Gnadenhutten. The report of the Nominating Committee was unanimously accepted and the Secretary was authorized to cast the ballot of the Society for the election of the five named nominees to serve as trustees from this meeting until the annual meeting in 1911.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES.

Immediately after the adjournment of the annual meeting of the Society there was held the annual meeting of the Board of Trustees.

Those present were, Messrs. Martzloff, Bareis, King, Wood, Beal, Brinkerhoff, Thompson, Prince, Randall, Love, Andrews, and Prof. W. C. Mills, the Curator.

Mr. Bareis was made Chairman of the meeting and Mr. Randall Secretary.

The following were elected by the Trustees as officers for the ensuing year:

Prof. G. Frederick Wright, Oberlin, Active President.
Mr. George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester, 1st Vice-Pres.
Mr. D. J. Ryan, Columbus, 2nd Vice-Pres.
Mr. E. O. Randall, Columbus, Secy. and Editor.
Mr. E. F. Wood, Columbus, Treasurer.
Mr. W. C. Mills, Columbus, Curator and Librarian.

As members of the Executive Committee to serve for the ensuing year, in addition to the officers already chosen who would be ex-officio members, were selected Messrs. Harper, King, Martzloff, Prince and Baughman. The compensation for the salaried officers of the Society, was referred to the subsequent action of the Executive Committee.

After the adjournment of the Board of Trustees, the Trustees, Officers and members of the Society repaired to the dining hall of the Y. M. C. A. where luncheon was served.

In the afternoon at 2:30 P. M., a literary session was held in the rooms of the Hunter Society, Page Hall, Ohio State university.

A goodly number of the trustees and members of the Society were present.

Mr. Bareis presided and after a few brief remarks introduced Mr. Archer B. Hulbert, who made a most interesting and entertaining address on Washington's relation to the West. He recounted at some length the interest which Washington took in the country northwest of the Ohio; his visits to the Ohio Valley, his securing of large sections of property in that region, and his many projects of uniting the northwest territory with New England by artificial waterways.

This address will be published in full in a subsequent number of the Society's *Quarterly*.

Prof. W. C. Mills read an interesting account of the origin and development of the archaeological museum of the Society.

After the addresses the meeting adjourned. Those present made a visit to and inspection of the Society's museum and library.

MAJOR CALEB STARK IN OHIO.

GEORGE H. TWISS.

A biography of Governor Lucas and the outlining of an important and fiercely contested case through the Courts of Ohio, in the form of a petition to the legislature, by the plaintiff, Major Caleb Stark, appears in this issue of the *Quarterly*. They appear in conjunction, since they both came from the same source, and are unquestionably of the same authorship. The unique character and vigorous ability, the distinguished and valuable service for the State of Ohio by Governor Lucas, in this campaign paper by a close and intimate friend, in full sympathy with his political views, by a man trained to accuracy and fidelity to truth in statement, — was never better set forth, or safer to be drawn from by future historians.

Our attention was first called to this law case by a former Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, referring to it as one of the leading and important cases, decided by a Court of distinguished ability and legal acumen, determining rights of property of great value to Ohio, and accepted as authority since then by rulings of other courts in numerous cases that have arisen in other States and Territories.

On consultation with the State Law Library, it was found, that the only record of this case, preserved by the State, was the following brief synopsis:

John Stark's Lessee vs. Smith:—

Fifth Ohio Report Supreme Court, pp. 455.

Land granted A. and taken possession by B. whose possession is not protected by the statute of limitations: Proof that B. purchased the warrants of A. before their location, located them and paid taxes not admissible to raise the presumption of a conveyance from A. to B.

Inquiry for further details in the case, in the form of petitions, answers, etc., placed on file in such cases, developed the fact that they were all lost by the burning of the "Old State House."

Being a kinsman and fellow townsman of the plaintiff in the case was sufficient stimulus for hunting in every direction, that time and means would admit, at odd hours and vacations, as opportunity occurred, until a full history of the case was found and obtained, all the details of which would require too much space and introduce too much personal in its nature in this connection.

The records of all proceedings in the lower courts at New Philadelphia were most kindly and courteously placed before me, old citizens who had vivid recollections of the excitement occasioned, but from age at the time being in noway participants, rendered every assistance in their power. Especially Dr. A. M. Beard of New Comerstown, who is thoroughly familiar with boundaries of the "Stark Claim" as it is known, and all the residents living upon it, when my mission was made known, hurriedly completed his rounds of visits to his patients, took me in his buggy, pointed out the boundaries, embracing a tract of country beautiful for situation and rich in its resources, went with me to persons who were born and have always lived there, but all their recollections were of too recent date to add much vital to the records of the case.

The visit, however, did result in obtaining the fact that a son of Hon. B. M. Atherton, Stark's Attorney, and a man eminent in his profession, resided in St. Louis. But correspondence with him, added only to previous disappointments, for the son wrote that he had heard his father many times speak of this case and refer to it as "the great effort of his life," but that all his papers relating to his professional business were lost or destroyed.

Subsequent correspondence with the owners of the Stark estate in Dunbarton, N. H., finally brought the information, that filed away with other papers there were some relating to the Ohio lands.

A journey to the Stark residence was met with a most kindly and appreciative reception by Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Morris Stark, to whom this most beautiful and interesting estate has come by inheritance, and by them presided over with a grace, charm and diligent care that makes admission to the grounds and home a delight.

The Stark Mansion, built nearly a century and a quarter ago, remains without change or modification, filled with relics of Colonial and Revolutionary times, preserved and kept in a manner not paralleled in this country. A good sized trunk or chest, filled with papers, documents and letters, was brought down from the attic with full permission to spend the day in looking them through to cull out and separate from them, all that should be found to have relation to the Ohio lands. Here was the lost treasure, searched for a decade, all preserved in such detail as I could not have anticipated. A quick and ready recognition these papers would secure safe keeping and an availability to those naturally most interested they gave them over without reserve to the care and custody of Ohio. They have all been chronologically arranged and carefully mounted by the Archaeological and Historical Society so as to be available for study by law students or Ohio historians.

The collection shows clearly all the phases of a legal and personal battle extending over a period of thirteen years, involving destruction of property, vile personal abuse, menaced attempts of assassination terminating at last in sacrifice of life by the man contesting the case.

The courts finally secured to him a title in the land in question but possession was gained with a severer struggle still. Ohio has never known a contest like this or has a citizen rendered a higher or nobler service to it. He left his beautiful home in New England, a large family and a large and extended business, and came to Ohio with the same high sense of duty as he had entered into and fought through the American Revolution, in his early life.

Major Stark, born with a rich inheritance of Puritan obstinacy, Scotch pugnacity tempered by Quaker philanthropy — the blood of Whittiers coursing his veins — a diligently acquired education of the Lincoln type, was wonderfully well equipped for the contest on which he entered to defeat and bring to naught a combination of "land grabbers" organized in and of the Pennsylvania type, bent and succeeding in seizing upon some of the most valuable lands in Ohio, by the most unscrupulous means. He fought not so much for himself and his posterity as to smash the

machine in Ohio and practically terminate the execution of still more extended designs in other States and Territories. To no single man do the people of Ohio owe a larger debt of gratitude.

Overshadowed by the glamour of his father's military career the valuable achievements of the son have been overlooked in our historical annals and the Nation has failed to recognize the service he rendered, both in military and civil life. If only what is here presented, shall serve to stimulate any one in the future, to bring before the country the strongest and best character in this family, what he was and what he did — all the effort will be amply repaid for bringing before this Society his services for this State.

To the Hon. General Assembly, State of Ohio:

The petition and complaint of Caleb Stark respectfully shows that he finds himself greatly aggrieved by the unprecedented interference of the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Tuscarawas in arresting and nullifying a judicial decree of the supreme court in his favor, and the same decree confirmed by the court in bank, after solemn argument in both courts, as will be seen by the report and order accompanying this Complaint No. 1.

In order that this honorable assembly may the more readily comprehend the causes of complaint, it becomes necessary to accompany it with a brief statement of facts. Know, then, that the congress of the U. S. granted to John Stark, for military services 850 acres of land; and to his son Archibald, 200 acres, who dying without issue, John became his heir, and owner of the land, say 1,050 acres. James E. Smith, and James Johnson, pretending a purchase, entered the same in August, 1801. Your petitioner was ignorant of the transaction, till sometime in the year 1816; when the Hon. Dudley Chace, a senator in Congress got some clue to the transaction, and wrote on the subject: about the same time a Mr. Lofland, (then of this place) wrote a similar letter: these were followed by many other applications on the same subject. I immediately returned answer to Mr. Lofland (who appeared an agent for Col. Johnson) that if there was any sale or evidence of conveyance, I would make them a title; but the whole tenor of the answers left no doubt of fraud in the pretended purchase. Some two or three years afterwards Mr. James E. Smith came from

Philadelphia to my house in New Hampshire (as he said) purposely to treat with me for a title. I answered him as I had written — Show me anything in the form of a title, deed, or conveyance and I will complete it. I further offered to go with him to the house of General Stark (then alive) and only eight miles distant, and if we could find any information that he had ever sold his land or certificates, I would make him a title; he declined going, although I offered him a conveyance, but accepted an invitation to dinner, tarried one and a half or two days and returned in the stage as he came. In the meantime letters continued pouring upon me from several quarters till 1824, when I left my camp in N. H., came into this State, went on the land, tarried about two hours and returned by way of Philadelphia, where I saw Mr. Smith, who threatened me with the horrors of a bill of chancery, unless I would make him a title: being a stranger to a chancery process, I had not learned fear from menace, and unfortunately spurned the threat, relying on the wholesome laws of my country to save me from an unlawful demand; and the following year, 1825, he put his threat in execution, by notification in a New Philadelphia paper, and I might have been ignorant of it until default, had not a gentleman of high standing in this State, and the United States (to me a stranger), sent a paper directed to him, by which I learnt the sender. I took measures to obtain a copy, make an immediate answer and order it removed to the circuit court U. S. It was so removed. This was followed by a succession of continuances at the complainant's desire until July, 1828, when the complainant "*discontinues his bill*" without any attempt for trial. See U. S. Court No. 2.

As twenty-four years had been allowed to procure testimony and nearly four years in court, none being produced, the nonsuit was supposed to end the dispute. Not so, the trespassers refused to quit the premises, an ejectment was brot against them in common pleas, November term, 1828. Smith vouched himself to defend the suit, and by various delays in the several courts; sometimes want of evidence that was never produced, and other frivolous pleas till September term of Supreme Court, 1832, when after full argument, the case was decided by a ver-

dict in our favor. From this court it was carried to the court in bank, the case reargued, and by the whole court the verdict was confirmed, and an order issued to the court of Com. Pleas to carry the judgment into execution — No. 3.

At the April term 1833, com. pleas by virtue of the above order a Hab. fac. pos. was issued in favor of plaintiff on the 4th of April and put into the hands of the levying officer, he had proceeded to dispossess several of the trespassers, when on the 5th the same court, issued an injunction to stay proceedings, and an order to re-establish the trespassers in possession, and thus the case now stands. See No. 3.

In issuing this order we contend that the com. pleas have overleaped their authority by granting an injunction, for the causes alleged in the complaint; because by taking the allegation of the complainant, he has no legal title to the premises but is in fact a trespasser: the legal owners have brot an action at Law, & recovered accordingly before the supreme judiciary of the State.

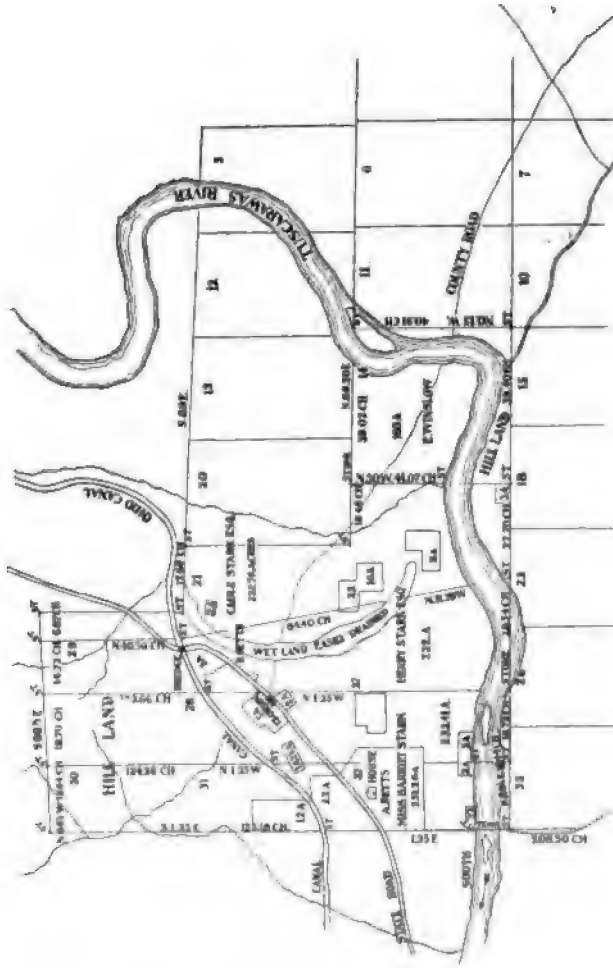
By reference to the reports of the Supreme Court, we find the following judgments applicable to this case, viz, Ohio reports vol. 2, 268, 4, 5, 6. "Equitable title, cannot be set up against a legal title and court necessary to determine if legal or equitable." Vol. 2, 234, 5 "The laws of every well regulated State, provide some way of conveying real property. I am aware that every solemnity required by law, either in the contract or sale of land, or in the deed for conveyance must be observed."

Vol. 3, 268. "Case fully tried at law, not relievable in equity and in the same case court refused an injunction, or to sustain the position and complainant. Reynolds vs. Reynolds."

Vol. 4. 492. Case of Leiby vs. Heirs of Ludlow. "Whether the court at law erred in opinion, is not a subject of enquiry for a Court of equity, nor whether a fair and impartial trial was had at Law, unless the complainant can shew to the court that he had a good defence at Law, and was prevented to avail himself of it, by fraud, or pure accident."

Nothing of this kind is pretended in the complaint: Nothing to shew even a shadow of title, conformably to law or equity. A more tyrannical mandamus, nullifying the solemn decision of the supreme court, confirmed by the court in bank after solemn argu-

ment on both sides:—see decree of the court, No. 1. Thus we are left after thirty years of preparation, and more than eight years in Law; one chan. bill, almost verbatim like the present,



Plan of the Stark Patent embracing lots Nos. 14, 19, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32 of the 1st Quarter of the 5th Township in the 3rd Range of the U. S. Military District in Tuscarawas County State of Ohio.

abandoned without trial, when it could no longer be kept back ; a verdict by a court of Law, confirmed by the court in bank, and we are now thrown back to the same position that we were in eight years ago.

I cannot pass un-noticed one plea that is made in this same chancery bill, that we think very extraordinary to be offered as a title to land in the republican State of Ohio, Viz. see 3d page chancery bill; that the said John Stark, "*having been very poor for many years before his death,*" again page 7.X "What were the circumstances in life of said General Stark, for many years before his death?" XX "Was he not very poor?" These are doubtless the most powerful reasons that are offered for the equitable title to the land. John Stark "was poor," yea, "very poor," ergo the rich James E. Smith has an equitable title to his military lands. This is a claim in equity, that we can neither find precedent in the books, nor can we form any plea to rebut, altho we believe that several such cases have taken place, but they are not reported.

I have consulted several respectable attornies, and to further my information, I laid the case before the court in bank, but none, have known a similar case of an inferior court, in opposition of Law, & legal reports, refusing to carry an order of the court in Bank into execution.

Admitting this doctrine a correct rule, a case never can be brought to issue. The supreme court in bank issues an order to com. pleas, they refuse to carry the order into execution.

Thus a wealthy trespasser can drive a "*poor, very poor*" owner out of court, if he can by *any means* gain the good will of the Com. pleas.

But before I "*give up the Ship.*" I must revert once more to Constitutional ground. I find in the Constitution of this State: —Sec. 8. Art. 7. "That all courts shall be open and every person for any injury done him in his lands, goods, person, or reputation shall have remedy by due course of Law, and right and justice administered without denial or delay." Art. 8. "The right of trial by Jury shall be inviolable." Art. 9. "That no power of suspending the laws shall be exercised unless by the legislature."

In the *Magna Charta* of our nation, (Declaration of Independence) are found among the complaints against King George, "He has obstructed the administration of justice," and again "For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by Jury."

It will be seen by this transaction, that the powerful Tyrant and the impotent one are the same in practice; the people took arms to right themselves: to I peaceably appeal for the faithful administration of the Laws. Here the right of trial by jury has been violated, the law and that prompt justice required in the 7 article of the constitution effectually superseded.

The vital importance of an *honest*, upright, & wise judiciary is acknowledged by all writers on Liberty & the rights of man as the guardian Palladium of their dearest & most important privileges: and as liberty can only be preserved by a watchful vigilance of the conduct, and just judicial administration of our pub-



STARK MANSION, DUNBARTON, N. H.

lic functionaries; it appears proper that every one should be restrained within their legal and legitimate sphere of action. The false pride (or some other cause) of Judges to seek jurisdiction has rarely been known, but to seize it in this anomolous manner, is believed without precedent, in books or practice in Law.

Admitting this principle & practice correct the common and Statute Laws becomes worse than a dead letter, because after a solemn trial, complying with all the rules of Law, in comes a chancery, and by the sovereign will of the judges of Com. pleas, nullifies the eight years labor, learning and wisdom of the highest judiciary of the State. If the suit had been intended for any other purpose than delay, it would doubtless have been brought

to the Supreme Court, who are in possession of all the facts & Laws—but the complainant & his counsel have avoided that court, least a more summary decision should attend that course.

The case presents one of two theorems, either the supreme court have erred in their official reports, or the Com. pleas have usurped an authority beyond their province: but relying on the superior wisdom, and legal attainments of the supreme court. I therefore charge the com. pleas court with an unlawful and oppressive exercise of authority in refusing to execute the decree and order of the court in bank.

On the justice of this hon. Legislature, I lean in expectation that they will extend their protection to the Law, to me — and *will* that *justice be done*.

If the land is not ours let it be so determined, if it is, let us be restored to our birthright, a birthright acquired in the tented field fighting for the liberty that you now enjoy.

CALEB STARK.

No. 4. Bill chancery. 5. Ans. 6. Injunction bond.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

The foregoing petition and memorial being only designed to call the attention of the legislature, to a consideration of the subject, not in expectation of judicial redress from it, but to enquire if it is, or was, the intention of the law that the *Com. pleas* should interfere in a case like this, and nullify the doings of your highest tribunal.

If they have this right, the Sup. Court in bank are wrong in their decisions, and each Court may nullify the proceedings of the other, and a perpetual controversy the result; or the property left with the owner of the fullest purse.

On my application to the Court in Bank, after full deliberation, they observed, "If they should grant a *Quo Warranto*, it would be attended by injurious delay, as their Court had but one session in a year; but that the legislature, was the proper tribunal, as they could call for a summary hearing and correct the Com. pleas (if found wrong) by a radical reform; whereas the Sup. Court only pass and inflict a cin cure for contempt, and even the extent of that not defined by law."

C. STARK.

HEMISPHERE — EXTRA. COLUMBUS, OHIO, SEPT. 17TH, 1834.

BIOGRAPHY OF GOV. ROBERT LUCAS.

BY A CITIZEN OF COLUMBUS.

THE life and services of all public men, holding high official stations in the government of the country, are a species of public property, and it is right and proper that the body of the people, who are subject to be called upon to act directly upon the merits and fitness of candidates for popular favor, should be made acquainted with their history, that they may know how to estimate their value.

I do not design to write a full biography of Gen. LUCAS.— It is not required — the space allotted me in a weekly newspaper, forbids it — my purpose will be fully answered by merely glancing at some of the most prominent incidents of his life, and by giving the basis of those services and claims which have elevated him to the first honors of Ohio.

ROBERT LUCAS was among the early settlers of this state. He emigrated from Virginia with his father and family, and settled on the Scioto river, near its mouth, in 1802, being then only 21 years of age. His grand father was among the border settlers of the State of Virginia, and shared largely in the Indian depredations of those early times. His father had experienced much hardship and suffering in the early Indian Wars of Pennsylvania and Virginia.— He was one of a party of Volunteers under Col. Boquet, in the famous battle of the "Bloody Run" in Pennsylvania, previous to the revolutionary war; — and was subsequently in several engagements in Virginia, until the flight of Lord Dunmore from that colony.

He was one of a party of volunteers, who, in the year 1764 marched from Virginia to Pittsburgh, and from thence, under the command of Col. Boquet to the Indian towns on the Muskingum river in Ohio. He was of a family of nine brothers, FOUR of whom, after sharing in all the dangers and privations incident to Indian warfare upon our border settlements, were brutally butchered by the savage monsters who then preyed upon the dependent, unprotected families of that ill-fated country.

Raised upon the frontiers of Virginia, where the Indian tomahawk glittered with the blood of its victims, these hardy, robust sons of a chivalrous age, had been taught to look upon danger without dread, and to face the scalping-knife unmoved. His-



ROBERT LUCAS.
Governor of Ohio, 1832-6.

tory records some of the noble triumphs of these unholy conflicts; and the family of the Lucas's bears a conspicuous part in the tragic honors of the day. Possessing great bravery and skill, they aided essentially in affording shelter to thousands of innocent, defenceless citizens, whose lives were in their hands.

GEN. ROBERT LUCAS, whose history I am attempting to sketch, had four brothers, who, as well as his venerable father, were early settled near each other on the Banks of the Scioto, all of whom have sometime since deceased. ROBERT is now the only aged representative of the family name in Ohio,

and the proud eminence he has attained, and the strong hold he now has upon the affections and confidence of his fellow countrymen, reflects the highest credit upon his ancestry, as well as upon himself.

In rapidly passing over the history and services of Gen. LUCAS, I fear that I may do him injustice. — The various incidents of his somewhat eventful life, would fill a volume. I am obliged to bring my notice of these incidents and events to a narrow compass.

In 1803, the year following his removal to Ohio, and when at the age of 22, he was commissioned a Lieutenant in a company

of volunteers raised in the Scioto valley, he was directed by the President of the United States to be in readiness, with the regiment to which he was attached, to march to Louisiana, and, in the event of the violation of the French treaty by the officers of the Spanish Government, to take forcible possession of that territory. He subsequently filled a great number of the civil offices of the county in which he resided, from that of County Surveyor, Justice of the Peace, County Auditor &c, to those of a Representative and Senator in the General Assembly of the State. At various intervals from 1808 to 1832, he was returned a member of one or the other of the branches of the State Legislature, stations which he occupied NINETEEN YEARS, ably and faithfully discharging his public duties, and meeting with the smiles of approval on returning to his constituents.

The testimonials of popular opinion, so often bestowed upon him, and that too, without, at times, an opposing candidate, together with the numerous military honors conferred upon him from time to time, affords abundant assurance of his great popularity and worth, and of the high place he holds in the respect and confidence of those who know him best. He also has, in addition to the offices enumerated, been a Presidential elector of the State; and during his long and arduous services in the Legislature, was twice elected Speaker of the Senate, over which honorable body he is said to have presided with great industry and ability.

But this notice does not end here. There is yet a brighter page to unfold — still another, and yet stronger light in which the life and services of ROBERT LUCAS are made to shine with redoubled splendor. I do not allude to his moral virtues — to the exemplary life as an active member of the Methodist church which he adorns; nor the space he occupies in society. — These are of themselves, a high eulogy upon his name; but its to the war worn soldier's plume; to the honors won amid the battle strife, in sheltering the innocent and the dependent from the hatchet of the wild man of the forest, that our attention is now directed, and which wins our hearts and enchains our affections. It is not merely as a civil officer, as a Representative in the public council chamber that Gen. Lucas is endeared to the people of Ohio, and of the West. He was bred and educated in the old Jefferson school

of Virginia, and was both *in* and *out* of the Legislature, the early champion, and the faithful advocate of the late war with Great Britain. The Halls of our House of Assembly were more than once made to resound with his voice in support of the principles and measures of the war; and while Brigadier General, at the commencement of hostilities in 1812, he rallied his troops by an eloquent appeal to their valor and patriotism, calling upon them to volunteer in defence of their invaded and suffering frontier. There is merely room in this short notice, for a few extracts from this speech, which has been politely furnished by a friend. After adverting to the call of the President upon the States for one hundred thousand men, he thus appropriately and feelingly alludes to the great CRISIS in which our bleeding country was then involved, and to the necessity on the part of the Government, for the most prompt and decisive measures of resistance:

"Let each of us for a moment, make the inquiry, what was the situation of the American people when colonists? and what would have been their situation, had they remained such? I would answer in a word; we would have been the disposable slaves of a despicable tyrant. This leads us to a further inquiry. By what means were we released from the yoke of bondage? I would answer, by the exertions of our fathers through a seven years war; wading, as it were, thro' seas of blood — destitute of all the comforts of life — toiling through many difficulties, and at length, after a loss of thousands of lives, gained for us that freedom which we have since enjoyed.

"And can we — I say, can we, their children — the heirs of liberty, be so far degenerated as to suffer the blood of our fathers to be disgraced, and the grey-headed survivors of these perilous times to be again bound in chains? No, it cannot be possible! I feel a confidence that there is not one man in Scioto so destitute of patriotism, inspired by the God of our fathers, as to be willing to bow his neck, receive the yoke, and become a despicable tributary to a *royal tyrant*.

"Parents, could you see your children dragged from your presence, and bound in chains? Children, could you see your aged parents toiling in bondage? Husbands, could you see your wives forced into the embraces of a ruthless and brutal soldiery?

Young Men, could you see the fair and blooming virgins with whom you are acquainted, prostrated at the feet of merciless savages? I presume every one of you will answer No — I would rather terminate my existence, than to submit to any such flagrant outrages.

"Fellow Citizens and Soldiers: — The liberty we now enjoy was gained by the sword. It now becomes our duty to prepare to defend it by the sword. And as we are required to furnish our portion of one hundred thousand men; called by the President of the United States to be in readiness to take the field at a moment's warning; which quota must be raised either by volunteers or a draft; I possess a confidence that the citizens of Scioto will not suffer the degradation of a draft, but they will cheerfully tender their services as volunteers, resolving to risk their lives — their all, in defending and supporting their invaded rights.

To those who may feel a disposition to volunteer, I particularly address myself. Gentlemen, patriots and defenders of liberty — It is highly probable we shall in a short time be called by our country into honorable service, and when called we may flatter ourselves with being engaged in a active campaign, where an opportunity will be presented not only to combat with our enemies, but to enjoy the highest gratification of which the true patriot is susceptible — *To conquer.*

"Gentlemen, I now freely enroll myself as a volunteer, and pledge myself to share the fate of war with you, let us be called to any station the President of the United States may direct. I will cheerfully go with you. Let the rallying word with us be *"Death to the invaders of our rights; or death in defence of them."*

This stirring appeal aroused the patriotism of his brave soldiers, and the roll of volunteers was almost momentarily filled with many of the most active and hardy of the sons of the Scioto valley.

His three brothers were all, more or less experienced in the sanguinary Indian wars of Pennsylvania. They were all entered as volunteers in the Western insurrection of that state, having marched from Virginia to the relief of the Western sufferers, by the order of the President. His brother John commanded a com-

pany of volunteers in Hull's campaign, and when the two brothers were on the march to the frontier in 1812, their aged father accompanied them as far as Chillicothe, and on taking them by the hand in a final leave, "WELL, MY BOYS," says the old man, "farewell! DEATH RATHER THAN DISHONOR."

Gen. LUCAS now held himself in readiness to march at a moment's warning. Soon the cry of distress reached his ear. It was the cry of suffering innocence, appealing for help and protection from the reeking tomahawk. The blood of his brave ancestry coursed his veins. His heart beat high in the cause of liberty. He shouldered his knapsack, and at the head of a battalion of brave volunteers, pushed forward to Dayton. He was soon dispatched by Gov. Meigs as a special messenger to Detroit, and met Hull's army in the wilderness when on his return.

He crossed the river from Detroit to Canada, and was the first man who passed the Aux Canard when the British were dispossessed of the bridge over that river. At the battle of Brownstown, his horse was shot from under him. He had previously marched, by order of Gov. Meigs, to the Indian town of Greenville, where the hostile Indians were reported to have committed ravages, and to have killed several men. — Soon after his return from this excursion, he was solicited by Gov. Meigs to undertake the expedition to Detroit before mentioned. He was subsequently ordered to scour the country around the river Raisin, and having been assigned a company of men for that purpose, he entered and performed that hazardous service without encountering an engagement.

Gen. Hull having learned that a party of Kickapoos had encamped near the river Raisin, Gen. Lucas was dispatched to ascertain their number and strength. About this time he was attached to Gen. McArthur's regiment by the permission of Gen. Hull. The succeeding night was pitched upon for crossing the river. Much confusion prevailed. Gen. Lucas had been requested by Gen. McArthur to assist him in directing the movement of the troops preparatory to crossing. Gen. LUCAS, with a patriotism and feeling truly honorable to his character, anxiously sought permission to accompany this expedition, and to be among the first to plant the STARS and STRIPES in the enemy's territory.

Several actions in which the most signal courage and skill were displayed, succeeded this movement, in which Gen. Lucas was a prominent actor. He accompanied Cols. Cass and Miller in taking possession of the bridge near Malden, and was appointed to lead the advance guard in that engagement. The troops who crossed were doomed to traverse deep and dreary swamps which intercepted the line of march; but, led on by the God of Battle, they finally triumphed without the loss of a single man. The most prominent engagement during the whole campaign was the battle of Brownstown, to which allusion has previously been made. A short period previous to the battle, one McCullough had sought and obtained the assent of the commander-in-chief that LUCAS, himself, Fowler and Stockton should accompany Major Vanhorn in the expedition upon the enemy. The march was commenced on the following morning. LUCAS and McCullough proceeded together. Near the Big apple-tree McCullough alighted from his horse. Capt. Barrier accompanying LUCAS, they moved immediately forward. The road here forked, one leading to the right of an Indian cornfield, a little in advance, and the other to the left of it. They took the right hand path. McCullough, on coming up fortunately took the left hand road, in company with a servant of Major Vanhorn. — They were fired upon by a party of a dozen ambushed Indians, and McCullough and another of the detachment were killed, scalped and tomahawked before relief could reach them. This was in the rear of the main engagement. LUCAS paid the last sad duties to the unfortunate travelling companion, by conveying it a short distance, placing it upon a plank, and covering it with bark! all the funeral rites which the darkness and dangers of the hour would permit: — all the poor soldier, falling in battle in a distant wilderness could expect to find. The Indians fled across the cornfield and escaped.

This scene over, intelligence was received that the Indians had waylaid them at Brownstown. Order for battle was immediately formed — LUCAS rode along the defile near the village — the thicket of bushes on the left afforded a convenient shelter for the savages, though they mainly lay on the opposite side of the creek. After cautioning the men on the right flank, LUCAS rode up

in front between the lines, accompanied by Mr. Stockton and Major Vanhorn. They were fired upon by the Indians when within twenty or thirty yards of the ambush. LUCAS and Stockton's horses both fell. That of GEN. LUCAS wheeled at the fire, plunged and threw his rider. In his fall, he lost the hold upon his gun. He flew to the ranks of Captain Barrier where he was furnished with another musket, and rallied the men to form and fire, which was instantly accomplished. But Fowler and several others were killed in the first broadside. The battle became general, and it was found necessary to order a retreat to the river. Seventeen men were killed in the engagement, and several wounded. Here we must close our notice, I have already gone into detail beyond my original intention.

The following is the copy of a letter written by GEN. LUCAS while at Detroit to his friend, Maj. Kendall of Scioto county, previous to the surrender of Hull, which was handed to the writer by a friend, and is indicative of the chivalrous spirit of its author, thus struggling in liberty's cause. A few days after, Hull capitulated to the enemy. It is impossible to describe the deep and lasting degradation done his country by this act of desperation and cowardice, that, though a man of great moderation and forbearance, Gov. LUCAS dashed his musket and cartridge-box against the wall, and immediately left the Fort, determined never to submit to become a prisoner of war:

DETROIT, AUGUST 12, 1812.

DEAR SIR:— I have the mortification to announce to you that on the evening of the 7th inst., whilst waiting with anxiety for liberty to march to Malden, the American army was ordered by the Gen. to recross the river to Detroit, and thereby have been prevented from plucking the laurels which have heretofore been hovering over our heads. Never was there a more patriotic army, possessing a greater love of country, or a more ardent desire to render it important services. Neither was there ever an army that had it more completely in their power to have accomplished every object of their desire than the present—and it must now be sunk in disgrace, for the want of a *General* at their head. Neither were there officers more solicitous, or more united than our patriotic Colonel, (and indeed the whole army) have been, both regulars and volunteers, to promote the public good. Neither were there ever men of talents as there are so shamefully opposed by imbecile or treacherous

commander, as they have been. He has frequently called the Field officers to council, in which they have, without exception, united in sentiment, and have been, in every instance, opposed by him. Would to God! that either of our Colonels had the command; if they had, we might yet wipe off the foul stain that has been brought upon us. We are now reduced to a perilous situation. The British are reinforcing. Our communication with the States is cut off. Our provisions growing short and likely to be surrounded by hosts of savages.

All appears dark at present, but hope is not lost. If energy and perseverance is united with courage, we may yet extricate ourselves.

With submissions of respect, I am your obt. servt.

ROBERT LUCAS.

MAJ. WM. KENDALL.

This is a hasty sketch of the life, and services of ROBERT LUCAS, now the Governor of Ohio. The reader may perhaps discover in it some of the causes of his elevation to so honorable a post;—some of the claims on which his past success has rested, and some of the reasons that have governed his friends in rallying to his support.

Such was his conduct during the northern campaign, as to call from Gov. McArthur a very flattering notice in his letter to the Secretary of War. Gov. McARTHUR often said, that ROBERT LUCAS underwent more hardship and danger than any man in the army;—and this deserved compliment from such a distinguished source, is certainly worthy of high consideration.

His life has been one of active service, of devotion to his country and of great usefulness to the State. Whether in the public council or in the tented field, he has always exhibited the man of talents, and proved himself equal to every station assigned to him. As a Legislator he was intelligent, energetic and devoted—as a soldier, we need only quote his emphatic words before his fellow-citizens in 1812. "DEATH TO THE INVADERS OF OUR RIGHTS, OR DEATH IN DEFENCE OF THEM."

"DEATH RATHER THAN DISHONOR," was a father's legacy to his sons, when marching to redress the wrongs of a suffering country, and how faithfully it was cherished and observed by the honored subject of this notice!

Gen. LUCAS may well be denominated a self made man. He is indeed one of the people, a practical farmer by pursuit.

educated among them, and taught to know and appreciate their wants. Firm and settled in his opinions, acute and penetrating in his investigations, yet modest and unassuming in all his pretensions, he is always at home in every thing belonging to his official duties. And no man, whatever his predilections may be, however unyielding in his prejudices, can pay him a visit without being strongly impressed with his general intelligence, and the mildness and urbanity of his manners. Although not deeply learned, he is thoroughly acquainted with the history and policy of the State — with its internal resources — its legislation — its public works — and the means proper to be employed to support and extend them.

Such is ROBERT LUCAS, and as such he now stands before the people of Ohio, either to be sustained or to fall by their suffrages.

Perhaps a few words of remark, in addition to the foregoing, inquiring more particularly into the MANNER in which Gov. LUCAS has performed his official duties, and discharged the high trust confided to him by the people of Ohio, may not be out of place. And how, let it be asked, has he met the responsibility, and discharged the duties of the station he now occupies? How has he demeaned himself as executive of the State? Is he chargeable with any omitted duties; any neglect of business; any want of industry or zeal; any remissness or inattention to the concerns of the people? If he has been thus assailed, if a single word of censure has fallen from any individual in Ohio, it is not known to him or others. On the contrary, his exertions and faithfulness in administering the government, are everywhere acknowledged. Even the more candid of his political opponents, admit his capability; admit his close attention to business; admit that we never had a Governor who has been more devoted to the duties of his office, or one more thoroughly acquainted with the business of the State. Many gentlemen, of the opposition, here at the capital, have been eye-witnesses to his personal devotion to the public calls; and to their honor, let it be said, they as *publicly* admit that they cannot and will not oppose him. Such, too, is the frank and honorable course of many of the first men of the opposition in other parts of the

State. And when the candid and upright of his political opponents are thus disarmed of the power of charging him with official misconduct, whence springs the rancor, and the enmity with which his re-election is opposed? Whence the rotten source that has called up a RENEGADE member of the party to put him down? Whence the idle cry of "OFFICE-HOLDER'S CONVENTION" and on what foundation, in fact, rests the opposition to his re-election? What real excuse has any man for opposing him? Is it *party-spirit* alone, that "HYDRA" which the more candid of the enemies of the administration have openly condemned for years; is this the foundation on which his political adversaries rest their opposition? Will they, can they, in the face of the oft repeated song of "NO PARTY," "LET US GO FOR THE BEST MEN," forget their duty to the State, to themselves, to the country, by thus annulling all their former professions of fairness, and oppose a candidate for no other reason than because he is found to differ with them in some of the measures of national policy? True, Gov. LUCAS is a Republican. He does not hide his opinions from the world. His friends all understand his views. They have always been openly avowed, and let us inquire for what does PARTY-SPIRIT assail him? Is it because of his known firmness? Because he has never *turned his coat* to receive the support of any man or set of men; Because he advocated the last war, and fought in defence of his invaded country? Because he was the early and true friend of JEFFERSON; and equally the friend and supporter of ANDREW JACKSON, and the measures of his administration? Because he believes in the sovereignty of the States, in freedom of opinion, in moderate tariff, and in low taxation? Because he is a *plain* man, a farmer by occupation, and the advocate of a *plain*, unostentatious, economical government? Because he is the avowed and determined enemy of THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, and resolutely fixed, and firmly established in all his views and opinions of the unconstitutional powers of that incorporation? — Are these among the reasons why one of the ablest and best Governors Ohio ever produced, is to be denounced and put down? Certainly, there is virtue and intelligence enough among the people to correct every improper feeling on the subject; and all good men — all who cherish right

notions of government, and who regard the interests of the people as paramount to the bitter, rancorous feelings of a mercenary partisan, will come out in support of the claims of GEN LUCAS. They will not put to hazard the best interests of Ohio, by elevating his opponent to the place he occupies; a man who tho' morally upright, is known to be ignorant of the business of the State, and to possess no one qualification for the station he seeks. Such an *experiment* must put the blush on all other miscalled "EXPERIMENTS," and leave the friends who advocate his claims to encounter a fearful responsibility at the hands of the honest tillers of the soil. The friends and supporters of Gov. LUCAS hazard nothing. He has been tried and found faithful. The contrast between him and his antagonist is so striking that no man can fail to distinguish the difference. THE ONE has spent his whole life in the service of the State. — THE OTHER, it is said, HAS NEVER HELD A CIVIL OFFICE UNDER THE STATE GOVERNMENT, AND KNOWS NOTHING OF ITS PUBLIC LEGISLATION, & LITTLE OF THE CIVIL HISTORY OF THE STATE. He was a few years in Congress from the Cincinnati District, and it is not alleged or pretended, by any of the friends of Gov. LUCAS, that he is not deservedly esteemed, a highly honorable, gentlemanly, correct old man. The advocates of Gen. LUCAS do not rest his claims for a continuance in the place he now holds, on the *weakness* of his adversary. They rely alone on the merits and fitness of their own candidate for support, and if these shall prove insufficient to sustain him, let him fall. The history of ROBERT LUCAS is identified with the State. His name stands, for NINETEEN sessions, ON THE JOURNALS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, several of which were served as Speaker of the Senate; and can his opponent point to a single *Journal* of either House where *his name appears?* — It is not remembered, if he has ever served, for a single year, in the State Legislature, or even held a responsible office in the civil administration of the State. This will readily account for what has been before observed, that Gen. FINDLEY must necessarily be deficient in information. He must be ignorant of the respective acts of Legislation, and of all the great mass of general and local business, requiring from time to time, the superintendence and action of the executive of the State. And

here it is solemnly asked, will OHIO, at this important epoch in her history, trifle with the elective franchise? Will she, when her growing energies are about putting forth in their strength, shove aside the most experienced and valued of her sons, to make way for such an "EXPERIMENT." This is a day of importance to Ohio, one swelled with consequence to the West, and to the whole nation. Every lover of liberty is required to be at his post. While our happy UNION is threatened with dismemberment, and corruption, in a thousand forms, is endeavoring to steal a march on the Government of the country — when that poison *canker worm* of freedom, the GREAT MONEYED MONSTER is uprooting the deep foundations of this Republic, and men, once the pride of the nation, are found leaguings together in a common purpose to prostrate forever the liberties of the people, 'tis time the country was awake, and every patriot enrolled for duty. These are matters of grave import, and the people will no doubt be prepared to meet the CRISIS, and to decide the ISSUE. To that tribunal, the honored subject of this notice will confidently submit his claims, assured, as he must be, that in no instance has he failed, faithfully and fearlessly, to discharge his duty; and that whatever may be the event of the approaching contest, his past labors and services will allow him to share the approbation of his friends, and the smiles of an approving conscience.

OHIO DAY AT THE JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION.

[For much of the material in the following account of "Ohio Day," at the celebration of which the Editor was present, indebtedness is due to the official report of the Ohio Commissioners made by Mr. Stuart R. Bolin, Circleville, Ohio, to the Governor of the state. Mr. Bolin was Executive Commissioner to the Ohio Jamestown Commission, and resided in the Ohio Building during the continuation of the Exposition. The General Assembly of Ohio appropriated the sum of \$75,000.00 for Ohio's exhibit and building at the Exposition; of this sum \$2,500.00 was allotted the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society for its exhibit in the History Building. The particulars of the Society's display are given elsewhere in this *Quarterly*.—Editor.]

THE SONG OF OHIO.

When the God of our fathers looked over this land,
To choose out a country most worthy possessing,
Where the rivers and plains are beauteous and grand,
Might so constantly smile on the light of His blessing,
From Erie's broad waves to the river below,
The Scioto's sparkle and the Muskingum's flow,
And the graceful Miamis together rejoice,
And bless the All-Father with silver-toned voice.

'Twas here the good angel encamped with his host
To cheer the brave woodman, 'mid his toil and privation,
Whose sturdy ax fell, never grudging the cost,
To rear up such a State, as the gem of the nation;
Then join all your voices in grateful acclaim,
'Tis the triumph of toil in Jehovah's great name.
Our sons and our daughters together may sing,
The Might is the Right, and the Farmer is King.

Ohio Day was observed at the Jamestown Ter-Centennial Exposition on Wednesday, September 11, 1907. The day proved to be most propitious in weather conditions and attendance at the exercises in the Auditorium was the largest of any of the state celebrations up to that time. The state of Ohio was largely represented by visiting Buckeyes. A detachment of the 12th

United States cavalry escorted Governor Harris and party, accompanied by his military staff, from the Ohio Building to the Auditorium, where the speaking began at eleven o'clock. On entering the Auditorium, Governor Harris was greeted by a burst of applause from the large audience, which received him standing, and by patriotic airs rendered by the National Band of Mexico, which organization furnished the musical program as a special compliment to Ohio by the government of Mexico. The Auditorium stage was decorated with the national and Virginia and Ohio state flags and banners and the conspicuous feature was the noble bust of President McKinley, which had



STUART R. BOLIN.

at all times stood in the main reception room of the Ohio Building. Upon the stage were seated the Ohio Commission for the Jamestown Exposition, consisting of Messrs. Braxton W. Campbell, Hamilton county; John P. Given, Putnam county; Clive C. Hanby, Fulton county; George W. Knight, Franklin county, and Ernest R. Root, Medina county. The ceremonies were initiated by Mr. Campbell, who in a few well chosen sentences announced the reasons for the present assemblage and lauded the plan and scheme of the Jamestown Ex-

position and deplored the unfavorable and unjust press criticism, which, he declared, had contributed largely to the financial failure of the exposition project, which however in the estimation of the speaker was so far counterbalanced by the sentimental and historic associations of the exposition as to make it a very grand success and of lasting worth to the commonwealth and the nation. President Campbell then introduced Lieutenant Governor J. Taylor Ellyson of the exposition company, who extended a welcome to Ohio and her citizens and guests in the name of the exposition. After a musical selection, the president introduced Governor Claude A. Swanson of Virginia, who in the name of his state and its people welcomed the Buckeyes in that hospitable and en-

thusiastic way which ever distinguishes Southern hosts in receiving their guests. Governor Swanson's remarks, entirely extemporaneous, were among the most brilliant and eloquent which the writer has ever heard upon a similar occasion. The Governor dwelt at some length upon the respective histories of Ohio and Virginia, their ties of relationship, Ohio being practically the first born child of Virginia, and in periods of most glowing rhetoric he pictured the loyalty of the Ohio troops and the Virginia soldiers in the late Civil War, closing with glowing tributes to the character and nobility of each of the two great leaders in that war, Grant and Lee.

Following Governor Swanson, Governor Harris was introduced and responded to Virginia's welcome in the name of Ohio and her people. Governor Harris' address is herewith given, but it is a source of great regret that we are unable to include his splendid introductory remarks or to give a proper idea of the fine spirit of dignity, manliness and Americanism which captivated his audience.

ADDRESS OF GOVERNOR HARRIS.

We are frequently reminded that we are passing through the commemorative period of our national history. Since we arrived on the scene of action too late to participate in colonial and revolutionary events, we may consider ourselves fortunate to have lived with the generation whose patriotic privilege it is to celebrate these sacred and inspiring anniversaries. They teach their lesson. They light the path along which we have traveled from humble beginnings to our present high estate. They help us to appreciate more fully what our free institutions have cost and what they are worth. The way has not been uniformly smooth nor has there at all times been unity of sentiment and action with reference to moral, social and industrial problems. Differences of opinion on minor questions will, perhaps, continue to exist, but Americans, and, indeed, the readers of history in every clime agree as to the prime importance to the event that this exposition commemorates.



GOVERNOR HARRIS.

The men who formed the first permanent English settlement on this continent will ever stand forth in bold outline on the pages of history. For months, through stormy seas, they sought the land of promise, and declared, when they had found it, that "heaven and earth had never agreed better to frame a place for man's habitation." There was much of truth in the estimate, but the conditions under which the first settlers began life in the new world changed this seeming paradise into a vanishing illusion. The story of their struggles and sacrifices at Jamestown, their varied and romantic relations with the primitive inhabitants, their heroic suffering through "the starving time" and their ultimate success in opening up the way for the westward course of Anglo-Saxon civilization will live in legend and song for all time. It would be superfluous indeed, to dwell upon it here. It belongs to the elementary history of our country.

The introduction of slavery in 1619 and the institution of representative government in the same year were momentous events in our colonial annals. Under the providence of God, the former passed away and the latter became universal in America. The little legislative assembly in Jamestown became the forum in which Patrick Henry bade defiance to George the Third of England. It later expanded into the Republic of today. Modern representative government began in the Old Dominion. It is her never-failing tribute to the nation and the world.

If the greatest gifts of a state are its illustrious men, Virginia will ever have valid claim to preëminence. In later years Ohio has justly claimed that to her has descended the honorable title of "mother of presidents." Of the seven men elected to that high office in the last 40 years, five were born in Ohio. We have presidential timber for the immediate future, and we believe that the supply will not be exhausted for at least forty years to come. And Ohio is proud of the names that she has given to history; but the eminence of Virginia is secure. No other commonwealth can point to a George Washington, the Father of his country, or a Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence and the expounder of the constitution, or a Patrick Henry, who made the stirring appeal: "Give me liberty or give me death!"

In this ter-centennial year, Ohio reads with special interest and pride the history of the Old Dominion, the parent commonwealth of the Buckeye State. In the French and Indian War, Washington, then a young colonel, with a commission from Virginia, rendered distinguished service in aiding to wrest the Ohio Valley from the French. In the Revolution, George Rogers Clark, by his daring and brilliant expedition, overthrew the British and secured to Virginia and, through her, to the nation, the extensive and fertile territory beyond the mountains. As one of your statesmen has well and truly said: "This man was not acting in the conquest of the Northwest under the Continental Congress. He was not in the service of the United States. He conducted his own expeditions under a commission from Patrick Henry, the first American governor of the Old Dominion. His soldiers were Virginians, enlisted and

paid by the State of Virginia—the only one of all the states that conducted war on her own account and at the same time joined her sister colonies in paying attention to her British brethren.”

Our debt of gratitude does not end here. After Virginia generously yielded her claims to this vast domain beyond the Ohio, her maternal interest did not cease. In framing the Ordinance of 1787, the magna charta of liberty in the Northwest, her early statesmen rendered distinguished and salutary service. In that famous compact occurs this clause that has figured prominently in our history:

“There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.”

This section of the Ordinance, with a slight verbal change, later became a part of the Constitution and made liberty universal in America. While there is still some controversy as to its authorship, there is no question in regard to Virginia's attitude. She gave it her most cordial support. As the mists that float between the early and the later days of our history pass away and we see in clearer perspective the long line of events that connect the present and the past, Ohioans will appreciate more fully their obligation to the parent state for the fundamental act that made the Old Northwest, from the hour of its organized existence, the abode of civil and religious liberty. Nor shall we forget that in later years when an effort was made to modify the compact and nullify the provision for universal freedom, that it was an eloquent senator from Virginia, John Randolph of Roanoke, who came at the head of a Congressional committee to its defense and declared:

“The rapid population of the State of Ohio sufficiently evinces that the labor of slaves is not necessary to promote the growth and settlement of that region. * * * The committee deem it highly dangerous and inexpedient to impair a provision wisely calculated to promote the happiness and prosperity of the northwestern country, and to give strength and security to that extensive frontier.”

The most cursory review of the relations of the two states would be incomplete without references to the great civil conflict that for a time separated them and arrayed them in contending armies. It is gratifying to realize, however, before a generation has passed away, while those who fought on either side are still living, that we have entered upon a new era of “more perfect union” and are today, as never before in our history, “one and inseparable.” On the graves of the departed, we lay the tribute of peace and unity.

No more shall the war cry sever,
Or the winding rivers be red;
They banish our anger forever
When they laurel the graves of our dead!

Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day;
Love and tears for the Blue,
Tears and love for the Gray.

With no bitterness, with pride and gratitude and love rather, we recall that what was the Old Dominion and now is Virginia and Ohio, gave to history that modest soldier, that resolute leader, that silent man or destiny, that "Wellington of American army," Ulysses S. Grant, and that it also gave that manly man, that intrepid soul, that military genius, that lion-hearted son of chivalry, Robert E. Lee. At Appomattox, Ohio and Virginia, incarnate in these two brave men, brought to an end the sanguinary struggle and arranged the terms of an enduring peace.

I cannot refrain, in this connection, from repeating the words of your eloquent statesman, Senator Daniel:

"And now in contemplating that subject, the rise, the fall and the obliteration of slavery, and the permanent establishment of the Union, it comes before my mind like the figure of some slender sapling into whose side is driven a wedge. When the war ended that wedge had been withdrawn. The sides of the young tree sprang together, the sap formed a new bark around it and now it rises over us and for us all, a stately oak which extends its roots deep down into the earth and waves its leaves among the stars of heaven."

And we knew that what the Senator said was true, when we suddenly found ourselves face to face with the armaments of Spain,—when we saw the Daniels and the Grants and the Lees don the blue and take their places under the flag to do battle for the American ideals of humanity, liberty and independence.

With the partiality and filial devotion of an elder child, we congratulate the parent commonwealth upon the achievements of the past and the bright prospect with which she enters upon a new century. Nature blessed her with rich gifts, the extent of which even yet is not fully realized. What a variety of scene and soil and climate and products and resources from the mountains to the sea! The broken counties of the west are rich in coal. Iron abounds. The mineral industries of the state are still in their infancy. What has been brought to the surface is most certainly but a prophecy of the wealth stowed away in the mountains. The growing scarcity of timber has multiplied the value of the forests. The valleys and arable uplands are growing, in increasing abundance, cereal and orchard products. Tobacco is no longer king. The scepter has passed to corn. The cultivation of vegetables and smaller fruits has made the favored section around us the garden of the Republic.

The rivers, as they descend in their swift course to the lowlands and the sea, are constant sources of power that is yet to be harnessed for the service of man. Add to this the coal fields, and who can measure the energy that this grand old commonwealth is to contribute to the produc-

tive and beneficent agencies of civilization. In every fiber she feels a thrill that revives and animates the New South.

The Yankee is coming with his machine. If in the past he has been somewhat troublesome at long range, he will be found a thrifty, agreeable and useful neighbor. He appreciates the natural advantages of the sunny southland. You have here in close proximity the raw materials and the power to convert them into finished products. The application of capital and Yankee ingenuity is yet to light in greater numbers throughout the state the forge and furnace fires and set in motion the "whirling spindles and turning wheels." Commerce by rail and inland waters and the sea is to receive a new impetus. Virginia is to find new strength in the diversified industries that have made her daughter, Ohio, pre-eminent among the states of the Middle West. And from no other section in this broad land will come a more hearty God speed on this prosperous career than from the loyal sons and daughters of the Buckeye State.

In this message of good will from my state I bear the greeting of many native Virginians who are now Ohioans by adoption. It is a fact that while Ohio today includes in her population natives from each of the New England states, and the Atlantic and Gulf states from North Carolina to Texas, she has a larger number of Virginian birth than she has natives from all of those states combined.

In conclusion, I wish to thank the Ohio Commissioners for the fidelity with which, under circumstances at times somewhat discouraging, you have administered the trust imposed by the joint-resolution under which you were appointed. You were early on the ground. Your promptness is to be commended. Your exhibits in the departments of archaeology and education and agriculture and mines and other industries are highly creditable. Your state building is a faithful copy of historic Adena, the home of Thomas Worthington, by birth a Virginian, and by choice and the favor of his fellow-citizens a distinguished pioneer statesman of Ohio. Your memorial is happily chosen and full of appropriate suggestion.

In the name of Ohio, a "state most largely composed of territory ceded to the United States by Virginia," I wish you and the entire management a larger measure of patronage and success through the remaining days of this "Ter-Centennial Exposition."

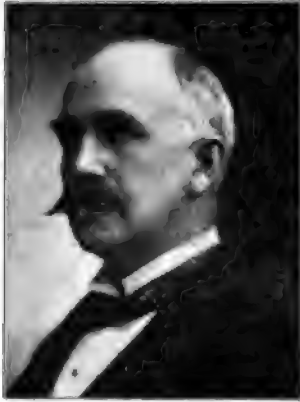
After Governor Harris had concluded his address Mrs. Blanche Armstrong Weinschenck, formerly of Ohio, rendered the hymn "Lead Kindly Light." Her sweet tones, wonderful range and absolute knowledge of her beautiful art and the fact that she stood near the bust of McKinley before which was a bouquet of his favorite carnations, brought home to the au-

dience, wherein were many of our martyred President's intimate friends, the full significance of the rendition of his loved hymn.

The orator of the day was the Hon. Judson Harmon of Cincinnati, whose address is herewith given:

ADDRESS OF JUDSON HARMON.

There are no States at whose celebrations Ohio is not a fitting guest. From those older than herself came the men and women who opened her soil to the sunshine and replaced the shifting wigwams of the savages with the fixed habitations of civilization from which sprang the Commonwealth which sends us here.



HON. JUDSON HARMON.

To the younger States Ohio has given her sons and daughters to do the like for them. So that, besides the bonds of race and political fellowship, she is joined forever to the other members of the American Union by closer ties of kinship. Wherever she goes it is either to the abodes of her forbears or to those of her offspring, and in both she is equally at home because she has proved worthy of her descent and is proud of her descendants.

The various peoples of the earth, as they now exist, had their origin in migrations. These were sometimes in masses, sometimes as individuals; sometimes as conquerors expelling or absorbing existing inhabitants, sometimes as settlers of untenanted regions; to some places they came as a blessing, to others as a blight. But never in the history of the world, not even in that of our country, was there such a migration, or one with such a result, as that which in a little more than a century has founded and perfected the state which honors me today as one of her representatives.

Secured as part of the new Republic at the close of the Revolution by sagacity and statesmanship of the highest order, the region bounded by the Ohio, the Lakes and the Mississippi lay a wilderness awaiting a destiny which Washington and Jay almost alone foresaw. The then three greatest nations of the earth had partly explored it and had battled and treated about it, but only as an incident to things they all thought more important.

The few settlements made here and there along its chief waters were merely posts for traffic with the Indians. It was too distant for thought of general occupation by civilized men. King George had for-

bidden all attempts to settle it and, revoking all rights of the colonies under their charters, had made it part of Canada.

After receiving control of it Congress first, by the great Ordinance which was the forerunner of the Constitution, devoted this entire region, whoever might become its inhabitants, to liberty, justice and equal rights forever, and then, having nothing else to give, granted rights in it to the soldiers of the Revolution and others who, impoverished by the war, had to begin life anew. Some of these sold their rights but others risked the hardships and perils which beset the long journey and awaited them at the end of it.

The French had gone around by the lakes and the Spanish up the Mississippi, so that not a settlement had they made in the easterly part of this territory. But the Americans, following the routes of the great continental pathfinders, the buffalo, reached that part first, and everybody who ever saw Ohio knows why they went no further.

There flowed the beautiful river through the valley where the forces of nature had for ages collected all the elements of fertility, with the Muskingum, the Hocking, the Scioto and the Miamis flowing in from the North, each through its broad rich valley. There was Lake Erie smiling at the Cuyahoga, the Sandusky and the Maumee as they came to it from the South. And between the heads of these rivers stretched the great divide where the trails of the Indians and trappers carrying their canoes across from one stream to another had traced the routes for commerce.

These men did not come as conquerors to overthrow existing institutions; there were none. They sought no conflict with the savages who, bent always on killing each other, wandered through the forests which had overgrown the traces of two other races which had preceded them to extinction. They did not come to impose on others religious creed or civil authority. They merely sought homes they could call their own where the soil would reward their husbandry and their children enjoy the broader possibilities of a new country.

Some of them came from New England to take up lands reserved in the grants to Congress; some from the Middle States where the war had wrought the severest domestic injuries; some came from the Southern States; but from nowhere came more or better settlers than from Virginia. This was natural and fit. The pioneers whose settlement here three hundred years ago we now celebrate and their successors had better founded charter rights to the Western country than any of the other colonies. Then Virginia troops under General Clarke had taken it from the British during the Revolution and it had been formally attached to the Old Dominion as the County of Illinois. These facts had enabled Jay, Franklin and Adams as our peace commissioners to make and maintain a claim to it.

And it was Virginia which closed the long and often bitter dispute among the States over their claims to these lands. She authorized her

delegates in Congress to convey all her rights to the United States. Thomas Jefferson carried his authority to the delegation and was one of the signers of the grant which became the first muniment of title to the territory which now includes five States of the Union and part of a sixth. It was fitting that Ohio, the first entirely new State, admitted to the Union just twenty years later without the usual tutelage as a separate territory, should cast her first electoral vote for Thomas Jefferson as President of the United States.

The causes already mentioned would have assured to the lineage of Ohio a strain of Virginia blood, but this was made broader and finer by the reservations which Virginia made in her grant to the United States. She retained a large area for General Clark and his soldiers. These were only plain backwoodsmen, but they accomplished more than any equal number ever did in the history of mankind; and they did it by a combination of courage and endurance for which I know of no parallel. Their leader has well been called the "Hannibal of the West," because, without support from his distant government, itself struggling with the foe on its own soil, he held his conquests to the end of the war.

The retreat of the ten thousand, the charge of the six hundred and other examples of heroism have been immortalized, though they mostly lacked permanent results. American literature has not yet exalted above simple narrative the mid-winter march of our two hundred and the capture of the entire and more numerous British garrison of Fort Vincennes, including its commander. And this was no fruitless display of military genius and heroism, for it protected the patriots from further attack from the rear during the remaining years of the war for independence and gave to five great States a birthplace and a home.

Virginia also made reservations for her revolutionary soldiers. All these lands were rapidly settled by families who both in public and private life have been large factors in the growth and greatness of Ohio. They extend from the Scioto to the Little Miami and are still known as the Virginia Military Reservation. My selection by the Commission has at least one element of fitness, for on that reservation I was born.

Before the great National road was projected, Virginia had established a highway from Alexandria to Marietta; and Washington urged the opening of communication with the Western country by portages from stream to stream across the mountains.

So while Ohio comes, like all the world, to join in celebrating one of the great events of history—the first permanent settlement of our race on the continent of North America, she comes with more than a general interest, because if any State more than another can be called the mother of Ohio that State is Virginia.

But the Old Dominion, in making to the Union a grant of her western rights, did more than secure homes for her soldiers. Her councils were directed by men whose profound study of government and far-sighted purpose were making our Revolution more than a successful re-

bellion. They were designing and building a Republic on a plan until then untried.

Our present Republic had not yet been formed, but it was apparent that the old Confederation must be replaced by a more perfect Union of the colonies which had become independent States, and the character of that Union was already taking form in their minds. It would be a government endowed with certain powers of the States, delegated to it by them to be used for their common protection and welfare. But, by reason of its origin and nature it could have no existence apart from the States which composed it, and no functions except those devolved on it by them. The principle of local self government or home rule was too important and too deep-seated in the hearts of the people of all the States to be yielded, or even qualified further than was necessary to create a lasting Federal Union.

What use could the Federal government have for a region great enough for an empire in itself? None except to open it for settlement. And what relation were the settlers to have with the States or the new Republic? Some of the States could not extend their boundaries, and jealousies would be aroused if those which could should do so. More than a century was to pass before anybody would suggest that the general government has imperial powers and may acquire and hold territory for its own aggrandizement without regard to present or prospective admission as new States.

Home rule means a government created and carried on at home by home agencies which are thus never out of touch with the people. As Virginia soon after consented to separate statehood for Kentucky, because the government beyond the mountains at Richmond was not home rule for Kentuckians, though they had a voice in it, so she did not seek to impose government from a distance on the people beyond the Ohio, but secured for them the same right her own people enjoyed.

That there might be no question about the political future of the country she gave up, Virginia made and Congress accepted her grant on the express condition that "the territory so ceded shall be laid out and formed into States, not less than three nor more than five, to be distinct Republican States and admitted members of the Federal Union having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence as the other States."

This was no doubt the precedent for the similar condition in the later grant by France of the Louisiana region which expanded our boundaries to the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean. And the course so provided has been followed without exception with respect to all territory settled by Americans. Arizona, New Mexico and Alaska alone do not yet enjoy the rights of statehood, unless Oklahoma is to be stopped at the door.

More than a century of experience under this dual form of government has proved its fitness and sufficiency for the needs of our people. In

each state they have built up and carry on for themselves institutions under which protection, justice, education and public convenience are provided, and civil rights defined and secured. Those whom they entrust with the making and enforcement of laws are chosen by themselves from their own number and act under their own hand and eye. And they have at the same time a voice in the conduct by the general government of the foreign and general affairs committed to it.

The people of Ohio cherish still as they always have done the "rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence," as well as the membership in the Union, thus secured to them. They might have gained these otherwise, but are none the less grateful for the precaution taken by Virginia which assured them. And they have justified her by the use they have made of these rights.

They realize that for a people who have set out to govern themselves to look to some one else, no matter who, to help govern them is a confession of unfitness. They are proud of the governor who when pleaded with to call for Federal troops said Ohio could take care of herself, as she did.

And the people of Ohio have no excuse for lapsing from the virtue of self reliance. They have shown that they know how to deal with trusts and combinations organized and conducted in defiance of the laws of trade and the rules of fair dealing. They are sure they better than others can control without crippling the corporations they create and fix the conditions on which those created by other sovereignties may do business within their borders. And they are not willing to yield the right to do this to any other power, or to have it qualified save by the condition, to which they have given irrevocable consent, that they must act justly with respect to rights lawfully acquired.

It is a matter of no personal interest to me, because my aim in life has never been to amass wealth, but I am not taken with the idea of seeking to limit by law the acquisition of fortunes. The smallest fortune is too great if it be dishonestly or unfairly gained. With laws so framed as not to impose unnecessary charges on the people which operate to give some advantages over others, and with laws impartially enforced to prevent unfair methods and corrupt practices, no fortunes will be "swollen," which implies unnatural and perverted growth.

Nor with our well tested systems of inheritance and restriction of entailments will fortunes long remain in unworthy hands; while fair gotten wealth has neither temptation nor occasion to seek illicit favors from officials who make and enforce the laws. And in our free country every man who thinks happiness lies in wealth has the right to get as rich as he honestly can. All we should demand is that he shall not increase his gains by withholding from the laborer his just reward or adding hardships to his lot, nor by depriving others of their gains by unfair competition. And he must bear his due share of the expenses of the governments which protect him in pursuit and possession.

But if for the first time in the history of the race somebody is to draw a line around thrift and enterprise, I am sure Ohio will insist on trying the experiment for herself. For all economic measures are necessarily experiments, especially those which deal with new conditions. And when the atmosphere is charged with discontent and resentment, no matter how just, the eye is not always sure nor the hand always steady, so that results not intended or desired may follow.

The people of each State can best decide for themselves, from time to time, what measures to adopt and judge their operation and effect. They can better and more promptly correct or change them to suit their case, as trial may suggest. And each State will have benefit of the experience of the other States as well as its own. If a measure prove wise it will be promptly adopted wherever conditions require it. If it prove unwise the less scope it has the better.

What higher hope can I express, in conclusion, than that when Virginia and Ohio meet from century to century, as no doubt they will, to celebrate their origin on this spot, they may greet each other, as they do today, as "free, independent and sovereign" States whose dignity is magnified and glorified, not reduced or obscured, by the Union to whose greatness they contribute and in whose glory they share.



ANNA PIATT WORTHINGTON.

The poet of the occasion was Miss Anna Piatt Worthington, great-granddaughter of Governor Thomas Worthington, resident of Chillicothe, builder and owner of the famous mansion known as Adena, which at the time of its erection was the most magnificent mansion west of the Alleghenies. It was this residence which was reproduced as the Ohio Building on the Jamestown Exposition grounds. Miss Anna Piatt Worthington being unable to be present, the poem was read by her sister, Miss Martha Worthington.

ADENA.

There is a quiet lake, its silver deeps
Cool-fringed with grasses, lovely "Ellensmere."
The high, bright heavens seem within its heart
A mystic world, far-shining, softly clear.

The gentle whispering ripples kiss the shore
Where rugged hills in darksome beauty rise,
Soft-drifted o'er with changing light and shade,
Deep-wooded, silent 'neath the silent skies.

The murmuring brooks that gleam through alder blooms
Shine here and there with many a bend and turn,
Like paths of glancing jewels in the sun,
Or darkly bright 'neath shadowing rock and fern.
And 'round the hill's green side a golden road
Winds ever upward, under arches free
Of oak and swaying elm and, flowering fair,
Ohio's pride, the sturdy buckeye tree.

Far on the hill's high summit lies a space
Broad-girdled by the dim, old forest wall,
Where magic seems to guard the sweet content
Of sunlit silence resting over all;
The wide, green lawns that reach so fair and far
Surround an ancient house, deep-walled and strong.
Against its gray, old stones the roses dream
And, clustering cling the pillared porch along.

Beneath the sun a terraced garden lies
Stately and sweet, where all fair flowers grow.
Guarding the broad, straight walks, in silence stand
The Yucca's dark-hued spears in seried row.
Bright bowers, fair, veiling vines and starry blooms,
And in the midst of myriad roses sheen
The mighty cedar that a hundred years
The changing sway of bud and bloom has seen.

Through fitful spaces lovely landscapes shine,
Clover and tasseled corn and meadows wide,
The blue Scioto winding through the vale.
The distant town against the mountain side.
Afar, Mount Logan rears its storied crest,
Where the sun's rising rays each morn reveal
The golden fields of ripened wheat below,
The picture, fair Ohio's mighty seal.

Where through Adena's windows steals the light,
Faint-glimmering throughout the ancient hall,
It sees among the portraits grave and old,
'Neath storied sword and spur upon the wall,

An honored picture, his who built so fair,
The soldier-statesman, who, in days of stress,
Toiled 'midst the brave, high-hearted pioneers
To make a garden of the wilderness.

From old Virginia he, blessed with her dower
Of courage high. Could nobler gift be given?
'Twas on her shore that our fair freedom's flower
Raised its first, bravely shining bud toward heaven!
Ah, those who went to brave the Western wilds,
To fell the forest, rout the savage foe,
Full well they showed how mighty were the sons
Of that first honored home of long ago.

Gathered in that first, many-remembered home,
On grand old Jamestown's honored soil we stand,
The sister States to her their greetings bring,
Freedom's first bulwark in our glorious land!
And here, as in some tale of Eastern lore,
Adena's walls, new-raised, show fair and strong.
Built by Ohio's hand, they witness well
Her dauntless strength the Western hills among.

Here, where the courtly Governor, of yore,
Gave stately welcome to his dwelling place,
Ohio's brave and gallant sons now greet
Virginia's deathless chivalry and grace—
Throng, as of old, beneath Adena's roof,
Hearts loyal to our country's high behests,
Making the ancient halls where welcome reigns,
Honored and proud to hold such noble guests.

Many representatives of the Ohio Society, Sons of the American Revolution, were present and as a special tribute of that Society to the program of the day, Colonel W. L. Curry, President, Ohio Society, S. A. R., wrote the following poem, which was distributed through the audience:

"OUR PATRIOTIC SIRES."

Today around this festal board,
With wonted zeal burn Freedom's fires;
Today we crown anew the sword
And musket of our patriot sires;

And down Time's vistas seems to come,
Clear and distinct, from far away,
The long, shrill roll of Freedom's drum,
Which eager beats the battle fray.

And as the mists of Time dissolve,
We catch the glint of blade and gun,
Which did a burning question solve
Upon the sword of Lexington;
Ah, from the dim, heroic past,
Replete with actions of renown,
We hear the mutt'rings of the blast
Which tore a jewel from a crown.

Who would not trace his lineage back
To those who in the foremost line
Stood firm 'mid battle's heat and wrack,
That fated day at Brandywine?
Or saw the flags of victory wave
Amid the hurtling leaden rain,
Where like a rock stood Schuyler brave
On Saratoga's deathless plain?

Hail to the men who made us free!
Hail to the stainless swords they drew!
A thousand years will never see
Forgetfulness of men so true;
Their deeds will live while grandly waves
The flag of a united land
Above their scattered, sacred graves,
From mountain height to ocean strand.

In silence drink to hero sires,
Who wrote upon the scroll of fame
With valor 'mid the battle fires,
Full many an immortal name;
With pride today each patriot cheek
Around this board with love doth glow,
And tongues of eloquence will speak
Of those who battled long ago.

The exercises in the Auditorium were followed by a luncheon to the Governor of Ohio and his party by the Jamestown Exposition authorities, given at the Swiss Alps restaurant. At 4:30 in the afternoon the Ohio officials, visitors and officials of the

Jamestown Exposition assembled at the reviewing stand and witnessed a parade in honor of the occasion. In the reviewing party, besides the Governors of Ohio and Virginia, were Major General Frederick Dent Grant of the United States Army, Rear Admiral R. F. Harrington, retired, of the United States Navy, and Adjutant General A. B. Critchfield of Ohio. The parade was composed of a battalion of the engineers of the Ohio National Guard, stationed at Cleveland, commanded by Major J. R. McQuigg. This battalion was followed by the 12th United States cavalry, the 3rd United States artillery and the 23rd United States infantry, and the 2nd infantry of the Ohio National Guard, commanded by Colonel E. S. Bryant.

The day of festivities was terminated by a reception in the evening at the Ohio State Building, which had been beautifully decorated, appropriate to the occasion. Many hundreds of guests enjoyed Ohio's hospitality on this occasion and were welcomed by the receiving line, in which were Governor Harris and staff, Mrs. Harris, Governor Swanson, Mrs. Swanson, President Campbell and Mrs. Worthington.

OHIO "ADENA" BUILDING.

The Ohio State Building, one of the most artistic and historic of the state buildings at the exposition, was located upon a choice site facing the water front between the Missouri and the Georgia buildings. It was an exact reproduction of the famous Worthington home, known as "Adena," which stands upon a hill just outside of Chillicothe in Ross county, Ohio, and overlooks the valley of the River Scioto and across the picturesque mountains beyond. The site was selected by Thomas Worthington for a home when he came out of Virginia with his wife and family and followers to set up his hearth-stone in the then Territory of Ohio and carve out his name and fortune in the rich wilderness, big with possibilities for wealth, fame and the advancement of civilization. In his report to the commission regarding the reproduction of Adena, Prof. John N. Bradford, of the Ohio State University, the architect who directed the reproduction and the erection of the Ohio State Building, said, "So far as my study of history of American architecture goes, there

is not another structure possessing the interest, from the historic architectural standpoint in all the Central States. It is well-proportioned, fine in its architectural composition, with simplicity and dignity as strong features. * * * The interior is typical of the convenience and comfort possessed by those old Virginia houses."

As to the builder; in the Territorial Legislature of 1799 Thomas Worthington was a representative. He became the first Senator from Ohio, serving from 1803 until 1808 and again from



"ADENA" — HOME OF GOVERNOR WORTHINGTON.

1810 until 1815 and was elected Governor of Ohio in 1814, serving from the time he was inducted into office in 1815 until 1818.

With Tiffin, Massie, McArthur and a few more sturdy, brave-hearted young men who left homes of wealth and the paths of peace to carve out new fortunes by personal endeavor and hardship, Worthington became one of Ohio's founders and one of the Nation's great men.

While Thomas Worthington was Senator from Ohio, in 1805, he completed "Adena," "the gray, historic mansion" on the hill overlooking Paint Creek and the Scioto River, and it was at that

time, as now, since its restoration by its present owners, one of the most truly historic homes of the country.

Worthington was one of Ohio's strongest, wisest and best counsels, and the state recognized his genius by making him Governor, following his brother-in-law, Governor Tiffin, both members of the famous "Virginia Junta."

Thus Adena became the real Executive Mansion and from its walls emanated many of the very foundation principles of our organic law and early enactments. The Ohio good roads, the canals, which did so much to develop our latent riches, and the common school system received their impetus here.

So beautiful was the site for the residence that brilliant Tom Marshall of Kentucky rapturously exclaimed "Had Tom Moore seen *this* valley he would have sung of the Vale of *Scioto* not *Avoca*."

Behind its external beauty Adena sheltered as artistic an interior but, more than all else, there dwelt within warm hearts filled with lavish hospitality and love for the society of kindred spirits so that the value of Adena for our purposes lies not alone in its architectural beauty and merit but because it has fostered so many great ideas, fundamental to our superior state government and institutions, and sheltered so many distinguished guests.

Bernard, Duke of Sax-Weimar Eisenbach was entertained there during a short tour and upon his return home, after months of travel through many grand and beautiful places, he sought out young James Worthington, then travelling in Europe, in order to repay the hospitality of Adena and on finding him welcomed him as a brother, exclaiming "I have seen the beautiful Chillicothe, and the dear, dear home, and the father and mother."

Among the distinguished visitors at Adena were J. C. Breckenridge and his wife, parents of Vice President John C. Breckenridge, who first came to enjoy the hospitality, romance and sentiment of the surroundings while on their wedding journey; Mr. and Mrs. Henry Clay, Mrs. Pope, sister of John Quincy Adams, Judge Todd and his wife, who was a sister of "pretty Dolly Madison" and many others. Adena also welcomed Lewis E. Cass, Governor DeWitt Clinton, President Monroe and

Tecumseh, the Shawnee Chief, the last and greatest hero of his race.

It was at the Adena residence, while standing at one of the broad doorways with Worthington and other members of a legislative committee, after a prolonged night session, looking over the fertile valley dotted with sheaves of grain, where once flew the deadly arrows of our first Americans, to the beautiful stream flowing at peace along the base of the "mountain range" beyond, behind which the morning sun was just sending forth his rays, that the beautiful inspiration for Ohio's present great seal burst upon the mind of William Creighton, then Secretary of State.



POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF OHIO PIONEERS.

GEORGE M. GADSBY.

In present day politics we find the principle of "like father, like son" a very potent one. Or, as a ward chairman of this city recently remarked when speaking of the politics of a candidate, "an apple never falls very far from the tree." If now this system of "paternal" or "traditional" politics is noticeable in recent generations it is fair to presume that a trace may be found running back to the time of the founding of the territory or county and there may possibly be a relation between the politics of a section today and the politics of its original settlers.

In the case of the state of Ohio there is enough variation in the nature and origin of the first settlers to lend considerable interest to a study of the "wherefor" of the present county "political complexion."

Students of history will remember that while the first legal settlement was made by New Englanders, the proximity of the virgin territory to the boundaries of Virginia and Kentucky had induced many squatters to cross the line before the Ohio Company was even formed. Later when the land was opened for settlement men came in great numbers from the Southern states as well as from Pennsylvania, New York, and New England. In the case of settlement by Southerners we expect to find democracy and when the Northerners first occupied the land the principles of Republicanism prevailed.

In taking up the study of the counties as they are now found it must be born in mind that many have been formed from adjacent counties and again that large sections have been settled by men from other older counties. In these cases it is more difficult to trace the political trend as the accounts of the origin of the first settlers is not definite. In determining the politics of the various counties the returns from ten elections were taken, the first election being that of 1836, and the last that of 1904. In

some few cases the number of Democratic victories and those of the Republicans is about equal and the politics of these counties has been indicated as indefinite.

As some order must be observed in taking up the counties and that of date of settlement is not necessary, we have chosen an arbitrary geographical method, and will commence at the eastern edge of the state and follow the example of the early settlers themselves by "going West."

Commencing then with Ashtabula it is found to have been formed from Trumbull and Geauga counties and to have been settled by New Englanders; with a single exception all of the ten elections resulted in Republican victories. Trumbull and Mahoning, the latter formed for the most part from territory originally in the former, were both settled by New Englanders, mostly from Connecticut, and again we find the Republicans in the majority. Columbiana was formed from Jefferson and Washington counties and so the original settlers were from Pennsylvania and New England, and in result is a Republican county. Jefferson, as has just been stated, was settled by Pennsylvanians and is a Republican county. Belmont was settled by men from the North-west territory, which in turn was settled by men from New England and in consequence is a Republican county. Monroe was settled by both Northerners and Virginians, the Virginia element prevailed and Monroe county is unquestionably Democratic. Washington, Noble, Morgan, Muskingum, Athens and Meigs counties were settled by New Englanders and again the effect is Republican prevalence in almost all elections. Gallia was settled by French immigrants and altho Republican it can hardly be said to have acquired its political instincts from its settlers. Lawrence was settled by Pennsylvanians and Virginians but is a Republican county. Lake was formed from Geauga and Cuyahoga, settled by men from Connecticut and is a Republican county. The territory of Geauga, Cuyahoga, Portage, Summit, Medina, Lorain, Huron and Erie comprising a strip of land north of the 41st degree parallel of latitude and between the 81st and 83rd degrees of longitude were settled by New Englanders in most part from Connecticut and all the counties are still Republican. Stark was settled by Pennsylvania Germans and varies

in its elections. Wayne was settled largely by Virginia and Maryland people with some few from New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New England but it is a Democratic county as is to be expected from the excess of Southerners among the first settlers. Ashland was formed from Wayne and shares its original settlers and Democratic policies. Carroll, Tuscarawas and Holmes counties were settled by Pennsylvanians and Virginians in about equal numbers, in politics we find Carroll Republican, Tuscarawas undecided and Holmes Democratic. Harrison was settled by a mixture of Scotch-Irish, Germans, Quakers from Pennsylvania and Virginians. Out of this conglomeration the Northerners prevailed and the county is Republican. Guernsey was settled by emigrants from Guernsey, some Northerners and a few Virginians, the county is Republican. Coshocton was settled by Virginians and Pennsylvanians and is Democratic. Richland and Crawford were settled by Pennsylvanians and Virginians and are both Democratic. Knox was settled by a mixture from Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New England and shows it in its politics. No record was found of the settlement of Morrow, but it is a Republican county. Licking, Perry and Fairfield were settled by men from Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania and is Democratic. Hocking and Vinton were settled by Ohioans from the older counties and are both Democratic. Jackson was settled by Welsh and Pennsylvania farmers and is Republican. The origin of the settlers of Scioto county was not found but it is a Republican county. Wyandot and Marion are Democratic, but no record of the source of the first settlers was found. Delaware, Union, Logan and Madison, altho settled largely by Kentuckians, are Republican, being, perhaps, the "exceptions to prove the rule." Franklin's early settlers came from Connecticut and Kentucky and they have shared political honors very evenly. Pickaway settlers came from Pennsylvania and Virginia, and the county is Democratic. Ross, altho settled by the same classes, is Republican. Pike and Adams were settled by Virginians and are Democratic. Ottawa, Sandusky and Seneca were founded by men from the center of the state who came mostly from Pennsylvania and Virginia and are Democratic. Lucas and Wood were settled by New Englanders and

have remained strong Republican counties. Hancock is uncertain and Hardin is Republican, altho partially settled by Virginians. Champaign, Clark, Greene and Clinton were settled by Pennsylvanians and New Englanders and are Republican. Fayette is another exception, being Republican, altho founded by men from Virginia and Kentucky. Highland is like Fayette, being a Southern settled Republican county. Brown, Adams and Clermont are Democratic and were settled by emigrants from Maryland and Virginia. Fulton is Republican, Henry uncertain and Putnam Democratic, all having been settled and influenced by adjoining counties. Allen, Auglaize and Shelby are of uncertain origin and are Democratic. Miami, Montgomery and Warren were settled by men from Hamilton county, which was settled by men from New Jersey and all are Republican counties. Williams and Defiance were settled by men from adjoining counties and are Democratic. Paulding is uncertain as is also Van Wert, both being settled by other Ohioans. Mercer and Darke were settled by Virginians and are Democratic. Preble was formed from Montgomery and Butler, and is Republican while Butler was formed from Hamilton and is Democratic.

From this brief review it will be seen that with comparatively few exceptions the politics of a county date back to the men who first occupied the land and thus left a permanent imprint of their political minds. The same traits in religion, language to a certain extent, and the very mode of living would be noticed if a similar study were made along these lines. It will furthermore be noticed that the counties along the Ohio River and in the eastern portion are much clearer both in regard to early settlers and political trend than the north-western counties which were settled by older Ohioans who had become mixed with and influenced by the convictions of settlers from both North and South.

Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio.

HARRISON'S GREAT SPEECH

At the Wonderful "Log Cabin" Campaign Meeting at Ft. Meigs, in 1840.*

Closely intertwined with the coming dedication of the Fort Meigs monument at Perrysburg is the history of a gathering which rivaled, numerically, the meeting which will take place there when the monument is dedicated in September.

The occasion was a speech by General Harrison, in 1840, then a candidate for the presidency, and 40,000 persons assembled to hear his address. When modes of travel are taken into consideration it was one of the most notable events in the history of the country.

Among his auditors were governors of state, military men and prominent citizens, and every state of the Union was represented. It was the tribute of the people to the man who had been with the forces of the country in the bloody Indian wars from the time when he was a subordinate under Wayne until he reached the position of commander of the Army of the Northwest.

In enthusiasm and decorations, and, in fact, in all features, it eclipsed any gathering held in the states prior to that time.

The political campaign of 1840 was unique in American history. Nothing like had preceded it. No political campaign since has equaled it in spectacular features and enthusiasm — not even the "Wide Awake" campaign of 1860.

The "log cabin" and "hard cider" campaign of 1840 stands without a parallel in our political history.

At the Whig national convention which assembled at Harrisburg, Pa., in December, 1839, General William Henry Harrison and John Tyler were nominated for President and vice president.

* [For this article we are indebted to the *Toledo Blade*, of May 8, 1908. — EDITOR.]

Martin Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson were the opposing candidates nominated by the Democratic convention.

Opposing General Harrison an eastern correspondent indulged in much ridicule, and, among other things, referred to the candidate of the Whig party as a man whose acme of happiness would be found in a log cabin with an inexhaustible supply of hard cider drunk from a gourd.

This jibe at the habits of one, whose military career from the battle of Fallen Timber through successive stages to his brilliant victory over the British and their Indian allies in Canada in 1813, had endeared him to the American people, was at once taken up as the slogan of the campaign, and the "log cabin" and "hard cider" became the keynote of the memorable contest of 1840.

Horace Greeley, of the New York Tribune, published a campaign paper entitled, "The Log Cabin," and all over the country rude log cabins were constructed in almost every city, town and village. These cabins were furnished with rude tables and benches; the walls hung with coonskins, accompanied with a barrel of cider and gourds for drinking cups. In these structures political meetings were held, not only weekly but almost daily.

The campaign in Ohio was opened at Columbus, February 22, Washington's birthday, and it was a memorable day for Columbus. From fifteen to twenty thousand persons had gathered there from every section of the state. Columbus had made great preparations for the event. An immense log cabin had been constructed. Every Whig residence in the city was brilliantly illuminated, and the hotels, boarding houses and private homes were crowded to the limit. The processions were punctuated with the peal of cannon, the roar of musketry, the jubilant strains of music from a score of bands, and the vociferous shouts of thousands carried away with the enthusiasm of the hour.

The representation from northwestern Ohio was simply immense. An imitation of Fort Meigs was constructed and described in a Columbus paper as "twenty-eight feet long, embankments six inches high, surmounted by piquets of ten inches, seven blockhouses and a garrison of forty men. Twelve cannon with appropriate mountings were properly disposed of at the batteries."

Floating from this miniature fort were several flagstaffs, one of which displayed the following inscription:

"Fort Meigs,
"Besieged May, 1813.

"Tell General Proctor when he gets possession of the fort, he will gain more honor in the estimation of his king and country, than he would acquire by a thousand capitulations."

Another streamer contained the dying words of the brave Lawrence: "Don't give up the ship."

Among other resolutions adopted at this gathering was the following:

"Resolved. That it be recommended to the young men of the states of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Western New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, to celebrate the next anniversary of the raising of the siege of Fort Meigs in June, 1813, on the ground occupied by that fort."

In pursuance of this resolution, on the 11th of June, 1840, there assembled at Perrysburg and Fort Meigs a gathering estimated at 40,000 enthusiastic Whigs, not only from Ohio and neighboring states, but from the more distant states south and east — in fact, no section of the union was unrepresented. Among these were many distinguished statesmen of that day as well as many of the veterans who had faithfully served their country under their beloved commander, who came to do him special honor on that occasion. These thousands came on horseback, on foot, by wagon and by boat. In those days it was no small effort to make the journey that thousands did make through a sparsely settled country, without the means of travel afforded in this year of grace. Other thousands came by boat, from the eastern states. The names of some of these steamers were the Commodore Perry, the General Wayne, Lady of the Lake, General Scott, Jefferson, United States, Sandusky, Huron, etc. These came to the foot of the Rapids, then the head of navigation.

The display of banners, the roar of musketry, the belching of cannon, ringing of church bells, the shrill notes of fife and drum, bands of music, military companies — all made an impressive scene never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it.

A few of the older inhabitants of Perrysburg — boys then — who participated in those demonstrations, speak of those scenes with a feeling of enthusiasm and pride.

H. S. Knapp, in his "History of the Maumee Valley," gives the following names of the speakers on that day:

"Colonels Todd and Clarkson, of Kentucky, former officers under General Harrison during the siege; Hon. Thomas Ewing; General Woodbridge, of Michigan; General Ford; John R. Osborn, Esq., then of Norwalk, now of Toledo (since deceased and well remembered by Toledo citizens), on this occasion rendered himself conspicuous in an effort which challenged the encomiums of some of the most distinguished persons present; Hon. Oliver Johnson, of Michigan; Dr. Smith, of Monroe, Mich.; Robert Schenck, of Dayton; George C. Bates, Esq., of Detroit; Mr. Saxton, an old Revolutionary soldier from Connecticut; James Fitch, of New York; Hon. E. Cook, of Sandusky City, delivered a brilliant oration; Mr. Chamberlain, a blacksmith, from Kinderhook, gave a humorous and witty discourse. Rev. Joseph Badger, the chaplain in 1813, eighty-five years of age in 1840, offered the opening prayer."

But the principal attraction was the address of General Harrison, which was eagerly listened to by the assembled thousands and stenographically reported by the correspondent of the New York Tribune. A copy of that address may not be without interest to the reader of the present day. General Harrison said:

Fellow-Citizens—I am not, upon this occasion, before you in accordance with my own individual views or wishes. It has ever appeared to me, that the office of President of the United States should not be sought after by any individual; but that the people should spontaneously, and with their own free will, accord the distinguished honor to the man whom they believed would best perform its important duties. Entertaining these views, I should, fellow citizens, have remained at home, but for the pressing and friendly invitation which I have received from the citizens of Perrysburg, and the earnestness with which its acceptance was urged upon me by friends in whom I trusted, and whom I am now proud to see around me. If, however, fellow citizens, I had not complied with that invitation—if I had remained at home—believe me, my friends, that my spirit would have been with you; for where, in this beautiful land, is there a place calculated, as this is, to recall long past

reminiscences, and revive long slumbering, but not wholly extinguished, emotions in my bosom?

In casting my eyes around, fellow citizens, they rest upon the spot where the gallant Wayne triumphed so gloriously over his enemies, and carried out these principles which it seemed his pleasure to impress upon the mind, and in which it has ever been my happiness humbly to attempt to imitate him. It was here, fellow citizens, I saw the banner of the United States float in triumph over the flag of the enemy. There it was where was first laid the foundation of the prosperity of the now widespread and beautiful West. It was there I beheld the indignant eagle frown upon the British lion. It was there I saw the youth of our land carry out the lesson they imbibed from the gallant Wayne—the noblest and the best an American can acquire—to die for his country when called to do so in its defense.

(At this moment the speaker's eye fell upon Gen. Hedges, when he said: "Gen. Hedges, will you come here? You have stood by my side in the hour of battle and I cannot bear to see you at so great a distance now." Immense cheering followed this considerate recognition, and the cries of "raise him up," "place him by the side of the old general," had scarcely been uttered when Gen. Hedges was carried forward to the stand.)

The general continued: It was there I saw interred my beloved companions, the companions of my youth. It was not in accordance with the stern etiquette of military life then to mourn their departure; but I may now drop a tear over their graves at the recollection of their virtues and worth.

In 1793, fellow citizens, I received my commission to serve under Gen. Wayne. In 1794 I was his aide at the battle of Miami. Nineteen years afterward I had the honor of again being associated with many of those who were my companions in arms then. Nineteen years afterwards I found myself commander-in-chief of the northwestern army; but I found no diminution in the bravery of the American soldier. I found the same spirit of valor in all—not in the regular soldier only, but in the enrolled militia and volunteers also.

What glorious reminiscences do the view of these scenes around me recall to my mind! When I consented to visit this memorable spot, I expected that a thousand pleasant associations (would to God there were no painful associations mingled with them) would be recalled—that I should meet thousands of my fellow citizens here—and among them many of my old companions—met here to rear a new altar to liberty in the place of the one which bad men have prostrated.

And, fellow citizens. (continued the general), I will not attempt to conceal from you that in coming here I expected that I should receive from you those evidences of regard which a generous people are ever willing to bestow upon those whom they believe to be honest in their endeavors to serve their country. I receive these evidences of regard

and esteem as the only reward at all adequate to compensate for the anxieties and anguish which, in the past, I experienced upon this spot. Is there any man of sensibility, or possessing a feeling of self-respect, who asks what those feelings were? Do you suppose that the commander-in-chief finds his reward in the glitter and splendor of the camp? or in the forced obedience of the masses around him?

These are not pleasures under all circumstances—these are not the rewards which a soldier seeks. I ask any man to place himself in my situation, and then say whether the extreme pain and anguish which I endured, and which every person similarly situated must have endured, can meet with any adequate compensation, except by such expressions of the confidence and gratitude of the people, as that with which, you fellow citizens, have this day honored me? These feelings are common to all commanders of sense and sensibility. The commanders of Europe possess them, although placed at the head of armies reared to war. How much more naturally would those feelings attach to a commander situated as I was? For of what materials was the army composed which was placed under my command? The soldiers who fought and bled and triumphed here were lawyers who had thrown up their briefs—physicians, who had laid aside their instruments—mechanics, who had put by their tools—and, in far the largest proportion, agriculturalists, who had left their ploughs in the furrow, although their families depended for their bread upon their exertions, and who hastened to the battle field to give their life to their country if it were necessary, to maintain her rights. I could point from where I now stand, to places where I felt this anxiety pressing heavily upon me, as I thought of the fearful consequences of a mistake on my part, or the want of judgment on the part of others. I knew there were wives who had given their husbands to the field—mothers who had clothed their sons for battle; and I knew that these expecting wives and mothers were looking for the safe return of their husbands and sons. When to this was added the recollection that the peace of the entire west would be broken and the glory of my country tarnished if I failed, you may possibly conceive the anguish which my situation was calculated to produce. Feeling my responsibility, I personally supervised and directed the arrangement of the army under my command. I trusted to no colonel or other officer. No person had any hand in the disposition of the army. Every step of warfare, whether for good or ill, was taken under my own direction and of none other, as many who now hear me know. Whether every movement would or would not pass the criticism of Bonaparte or Wellington, I know not; but, whether they would induce applause or censure, upon myself it must fall.

But, fellow citizens, still another motive induced me to accept the invitation which had been so kindly extended to me. I knew that here I should meet many who had fought and bled under my command—that I should have the pleasure of taking them by the hand and recur-

ring with them to the scenes of the past. I expected, too, to meet with a few of the great and good men yet surviving, by whose efforts our freedom was achieved. This pleasure alone would have been sufficient to induce my visit to this interesting spot upon this equally interesting occasion. I see my old companions here, and I see not a few of the revolutionary veterans around me. Would to God that it had even been in my power to have made them comfortable and happy—that their sun might go down in peace! But, fellow citizens, they remain unprovided for—monuments of the ingratitude of my country. It was with the greatest difficulty that the existing pension act was passed through congress. But why was it restricted? Why were the brave soldiers who fought under Wayne excluded?—soldiers who suffered far more than they who fought in the revolution proper. The revolution, in fact, did not terminate until 1794—until the battle was fought upon the battle ground upon which my eye now rests (Miami). War continued with them from the commencement of the revolution until the victory of Wayne, to which I have just alluded. The great highway to the west was the scene of unceasing slaughter. Then why this unjust discrimination? Why are the soldiers who terminated the war of the revolution, in fact, excluded, while those by whom it was begun or a portion of them, are rewarded? I will tell you why. The poor remnant of Wayne's army had but few advocates, while those who had served in the revolution proper had many friends. Scattered as they were over all parts of the Union, and in large numbers, they could exert an influence at the ballot-box. They could whisper thus in the ears of those who sought their influence at the polls: "Take care, for I have waited long enough for what has been promised. The former plea of poverty can no longer be made. The treasury is now full. Take care; your seat is in danger." "Oh! yes, everything that has been promised shall be attended to if you will give me your voice." In this way, fellow citizens, tardy, but partial, justice was done to the soldiers of the revolution. They made friends by their influence at the ballot-box. But it was different with Gen. Wayne's soldiers. They were few in number, and they had but one or two humble advocates to speak for them in congress. The result has been, justice has been withheld.

I have said that the soldiers under Wayne experienced greater hardships even than the soldiers of the revolution. This is so. Everyone can appreciate the difference between an Indian and a regular war. When wounded in battle, the soldier must have warmth and shelter before he can recover. This could always be secured to the soldiers of the revolution. In those days the latch string of no door was pulled in. When wounded, he was sure to find shelter and very many of those comforts which are so essential to the sick, but which the soldiers in an Indian war cannot procure. Instead of shelter and warmth he is exposed to the thousand ills incident to Indian warfare. Yet no relief was extended to those who had thus suffered!

After the war closed under Wayne, I retired; and when I saw a man poorer than all others, wandering about the land, decrepid and decayed by intemperance, it was unnecessary to inquire whether he had ever belonged to Wayne's army. His condition was a guarantee of that—was a sufficient assurance that he had wasted his energies among the unwholesome swamps of the West, in the defense of the rights of his fellow citizens, and for the maintenance of the honor and glory of his country.

Well, fellow citizens, I can only say, that if it should ever be in my power to pay the debt which is due these brave but neglected men, that debt shall first of all be paid. And I am very well satisfied that the government can afford it, provided the latch string of the treasury shall ever be more carefully pulled in. Perhaps you will ask me for some proof of my friendship for old soldiers. If so, I can give it you from the records of congress. When the fifteen-hundred-dollar law was repealed, I opposed it, as I opposed changing the pay of members of congress from six to eight dollars, until we had done justice to and provided for these soldiers. You will find my votes upon this question among the records of congress, and my speech upon it in the published debates of the time.

I will now, fellow citizens, give you my reasons for having refused to give pledges and opinions more freely than I have done since my nomination to the presidency. Many of the statements published upon this subject are by no means correct; but it is true that it is my opinion that no pledge should be made by an individual when in nomination for any office in the gift of the people. And why? Once adopt it, and the battle will no longer be to the strong—to the virtuous—or the sincere lover of the country; but to him who is prepared to tell the greatest number of lies, and to proffer the largest number of pledges which he never intends to carry out. I suppose that the best guarantee which an American citizen could have of the correctness of the conduct of an individual in the future, would be his conduct in the past, when he had no temptation before him, to practice deceit.

Now, fellow citizens, I have not altogether grown gray under the helmet of my country, although I have worn it for some time. A large portion of my life has been passed in the civil departments of government. Examine my conduct there, and the most tenacious Democrat—I use the word in its proper sense; I mean not to confine it to parties, for there are good in both—may doubtless discover faults, but he will find no single act calculated to derogate from the rights of the people.

However, to prove the reverse of this, I have been called a federalist! (Here was a cry of "The charge is a lie—a base lie. You are no federalist.") Well, what is a federalist? I recollect what the term formerly signified, and there are many others present who recollect its former signification also. They know that the federal party was accused of a design to strengthen the hands of the general government at the

expense of the separate states. That accusation would nor cannot apply to me. I was brought up after the strictest manner of Virginia anti-federalism. St. Paul himself was not a greater devotee to the doctrines of the Pharisees than was I, by inclination and a father's precepts and example, to anti-federalism. I was taught to believe that sooner or later that fatal catastrophe to human liberty would take place; that the general government would swallow up all the state governments and that one department of the government would swallow up all the other departments. I do not know whether my friends Mr. Van Buren (and he is and I hope ever will be, my personal friend), has a throat that can swallow everything; but I do know that, if his measures are carried out, he will lay a foundation for others to do so if he does not.

What reflecting man, fellow citizens, cannot see this? The representatives of the people were once the source of power. Is it so now? Nay. It is to the executive mansion now that every eye is turned—that every wish is directed. The men of office and party who are governed by the principles of John Randolph, towit: the five loaves and two fishes, seem to have their ears constantly directed to the great bell at headquarters to indicate how the little ones shall ring.

But to return, I have but to remark that my anti-federalism has been tempered by my long service in the employ of the country—and my frequent oaths to support the general government; but I am as ready to resist the encroachments on state rights as I am to support the legitimate authority of the executive, or general government.

Now, fellow citizens, I have very little more to say, except to exhort you to go on peacefully if you can—and you can—to effect that reform upon which your hearts are fixed. What calamitous consequences will ensue to the world if you fail? If you should fail how the tyrants of Europe will rejoice. If you fail, how will the friends of freedom, scattered, like the planets of heaven, over the world, mourn, when they see the beacon light of liberty extinguished—the light whose rays they had hoped would yet penetrate the whole benighted world. If you triumph, it will only be done by vigilance and attention. Our personal friends, but political enemies, remind each other that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." While journeying thitherward, I observed this motto waving at the head of a procession composed of the friends of the present administration. From this I inferred that discrimination was necessary in order to know who to watch. Under Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, the eye of the people was turned to the right source—to the administration. The administration, however, now says to the people, "You must not watch us, but you must watch the Whigs! Only do that and all is safe!" But that, my friends, is not the way. The old-fashioned Republican rule is to watch the government. See to the government. See that the government does not acquire too much power. Keep a check upon your rulers. Do this, and liberty is safe. And if your efforts should result successfully, and I should be placed in the presi-

dential chair, I shall invite a recurrence to the old Republican rule, to watch the administration and to condemn all its acts which are not in accordance with the strictest mode of Republicanism. Our rulers, fellow citizens, must be watched. Power is insinuating. Few men are satisfied with less power than they are able to procure. If the ladies whom I see around me were near enough to hear me, and of sufficient age to give an experimental answer, they would tell you that no lover is ever satisfied with the first smile of his mistress.

It is necessary, therefore, to watch, not the political opponents of an administration, but the administration itself, and to see that it keeps within the bounds of the constitution and the laws of the land. The executive of this Union has immense power to do mischief, if he sees fit to exercise that power. He may prostrate the country. Indeed, this country has been already prostrated. It has already fallen from pure Republicanism, to a monarchy in spirit, if not in name.

A celebrated author defines monarchy to be that form of government in which the executive has once the command of the army, the execution of the laws and the control of the purse. Now, how is it with our present executive? The constitution gives to him the control of the army and the execution of the laws. He now only awaits the possession of the purse to make him a monarch. Not a monarch simply, with the power of England, but a monarch with powers of the autocrat of Russia. For Gibbon says that an individual possessed of these powers "will, unless closely watched, make himself a despot."

The passage of the sub-treasury bill will give to the President an accumulation of power that the constitution withholds from him, a monarch. This catastrophe to freedom should be and can be prevented by vigilance, union and perseverance.

["We will do it," resounded from twenty thousand voices, "we will do it."]

In conclusion, then, fellow citizens, I would impress it upon all—Democrats and Whigs—to give up the idea of watching each other, and direct your eye to the government. Do that, and your children's children, to the latest posterity, will be so happy and as free as you and your fathers have been.

At the close of General Harrison's address the vast multitude of hearers gave "three times three" with a vim, an earnestness and an unanimity that eloquently voiced the truth and beauty of the sentiments so forcibly portrayed by the honored speaker.

This monster demonstration at Fort Meigs was well calculated to give even additional force and character in the further progress of that remarkable campaign. Not a political meeting of any consequence was held throughout the country that did

not bring out delegations in wagons and vehicles of every description, reaching sometimes a mile in length. These wagons were trimmed in many fantastic designs, and always accompanied with martial music.

On General Harrison's return from Fort Meigs, he visited a number of towns in Ohio, among them Columbus, Springfield, Dayton, Germantown, Cincinnati and other places.

At Germantown there were some unique preparations for his reception. Among the features were thirteen lads, of whom the writer was one, representing the thirteen original states. These were dressed in blue hunting shirt with coonskin caps, and sang campaign songs from the Log Cabin Song Book. Among the airs were Dan Tucker, Rosin the Bow, Buckeye Brawn, John Anderson My Joe, Auld Lang Syne, etc. Some of the lines were:

"Say, Oh where was your Buckeye cabin made? —————

Away down yonder in the sylvan shade,

Where the Buckeye boys wield the plow and spade,

There, Oh there, was our Buckeye cabin made."

"Oh, what has caused this great commotion

The country through?

It is the ball a-rolling, rolling on

For Tippecanoe and Tyler, too.

For with them we can beat any man-man-man

Of the Van Buren clan:

For with them we can beat any man."

And so on, with many doggerel jingling songs of a similar character.

Another ornamented wagon containing a number of girls dressed in white, and these represented the stars in the Union at that time.

Many similar spectacular features, processions, patriotic displays and illuminations characterized the campaign of 1840 in every town and village of note throughout the country, north and south—a campaign that has never had its counterpart in our political history.

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E. O. Randall

APRIL, 1908.

THE MOUND BUILDERS AND THE LOST TRIBES.

THE "HOLY STONES" OF NEWARK.

[The following article from *The Daily Oklahoman*, published at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, of the date Sunday, May 3, 1908, was forwarded to us with the inquiry whether the statements therein contained concerning the "Holy Stones of Newark" or Jackstown were authentic. To this we reply that the statements as to the finding of such alleged relics are correct, but as to the genuineness of the relics, we are compelled to say that the evidence is overwhelming against it.—EDITOR.]

It is not improbable that information in the hands of an Oklahoma City man may throw light upon a problem that has for ages puzzled historians and ethnologists alike—the fate of the "Lost Tribes of Israel."

In II Kings, xiv, 29, the Bible relates: "In the days of Pekah, king of Israel, came Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, and took Ijon and Adal-beth-Maacah, and Janoah, and Kedesh and Hazor, and Gilead and Galilee, of the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Syria."

No further record of these tribes is given in history save in unconfirmed traditional report to the effect that they were released from captivity and journeyed toward the northeast of Asia. Neither history nor tradition has satisfactorily explained their disappearance, and the mystery has appeared as unsolvable as the location of the Garden of Eden.

Recently, however, ethnologists of repute have presented a theory no less interesting than that of Lemuria, the immersed continent of the Indian ocean, suggested as the location of the Garden of Eden and point of origin of the Aryan races.

Though in seeming contradiction of every principle of ethnography, these latter-day philosophers assert that the tribes which disappeared at that time were the earliest inhabitants of America. Their wanderings toward the northeast were, if the supposition is given credence, contrary to the general direction of the movements of mankind from orient to occident.

According to the new hypothesis, the tribes reached the western hemisphere by way of an isthmus believed to have existed where the

narrow waters of Behring strait now divide the continents. Giving color of truth to this theory is the fact that ethnologists who have sojourned among the natives inhabiting the great region south and east of Behring strait assert that many Greek and Hebrew words are distinguishable in the language employed by the natives of that region today.

They furthermore claim that the mound builders, the evidence of whose existence in America at one time is presented by mounds, fortifications and architectural ruins discovered in parts of North, Central and South America, were none other than the descendants of the lost tribes.

The most convincing proof offered in support of the theory that Hebrew tribes inhabited America before the Columbian era, was a discovery made several years ago in the razing of a "prehistoric" mound near Jackstown, Licking county, Ohio.

Judge B. M. Dilley, of Oklahoma City, formerly a regent of Missouri University, being personally familiar with the incident, makes this statement:

Near the town of Jackstown there was a mound about 80 feet in height and 500 feet around the base. Trees of large size grew on its top and sides. Upon investigation it was found the mound was built principally of stone. Repairs being needed on a nearby reservoir, the stone in this mound was dug out for that purpose. I remember to have heard persons state that 25,000 wagonloads of stone had been hauled from the mound.

After the mound had been demolished until only the foundation remained two of the laborers discovered and examined a pair of copper rings found lying on what appeared to be a slab. Later they went to the county recorder's office at Newark, Ohio, and were exhibiting the rings and telling of their discovery.

The attention of Dr. Wilson was attracted and he took some men with him to the scene of the discovery to make further investigations. On removing the slab previously referred to, they found it to be the covering of a trough-shaped box. This appeared to have been lined with some kind of cloth, but no part of it could be preserved, for it crumbled at the touch. In the box were human teeth, some tufts of hair and several finger rings.

Underneath the box was a heavy deposit of fireclay. Digging in this clay they found an oblong box containing something that gave forth a rattling sound. In expectation of finding buried treasure, the workmen were anxious to break it with their picks. But on examining the box Dr. Wilson discovered that it was composed of two halves, joined together, with a small opening in one end. He carried the box or casket back to Newark and, with the aid of a glass-blower, forced the two halves apart.

In the box was found a curious stone, in size about two or three inches in width and perhaps six inches in length, with a tenant shape and morticed hole at one end through which a strap could be passed. On one side a depression was cut, and in that depression was an image representing a man with a flowing beard, sandaled feet, with robe and staff, and under the figure appeared an inscription.

On the sides of the stone around this image were characters unknown to Dr. Wilson and the other scientific and learned men then residing in Newark.

At that time the synod of the Presbyterian church was in session at Zanesville, Ohio. Dr. Wilson went there with the relic, where it was examined by the ministers there assembled. The Rev. Mathew Miller, then a resident of Cumberland, Ohio, at once pronounced the relic a Jewish teraphim. He declared the image thereon was Moses and that the characters interpreted, were the ten commandments.

To make sure that his interpretation was correct, the Rev. Miller took the relic to Cincinnati and there consulted Dr. Lillienthal, who was then considered the most learned rabbi in the United States. He coincided in the opinion that it was a Jewish teraphim; that the ten commandments were engraved thereon, and that the image was that of Moses.

They consulted seven Hebrew alphabets and found that the inscription on the teraphim was written in the letters of the oldest of the seven.

About the year 1865 I heard the Rev. Miller lecture at Fifth Street Presbyterian church in Zanesville. The relics were then in his possession, and they were inspected by the audience after the lecture was given. Among them was a wedge-shaped stone, with Hebrew inscriptions on its four sides. The interpretations of some of these inscriptions were "Jehovah," "God," "Almighty," etc.

Another relic found was the image of an infant's skull. The inscription there, when interpreted, was: "May the Lord have mercy on me, an untimely birth." In explanation of this infant skull, the Rev. Miller said that it was a custom of the ancient Jews, whenever they had violated a law or precept of their religion which they regarded a grievous offense, to manifest their deep penitence by carving out of stone an infant's skull and inscribing on the forehead in Hebrew the words above quoted.

It has been a surprise to me that the story of the important discovery has not found a place in the archives of the scientific investigations of the age. The Rev. Miller was a modest man and, while he wrote and preserved his writings with reference to this matter, he doubtless never sought their publication, and, unless Dr. Wilson—whose first name I do not now remember—has preserved the history, it may exist only in the memory of myself and others who heard the lecture.

The Rev. Miller's theory was that the Jews inhabited this country prior to the time of the North American Indians, and that this teraphim,

according to the ancient law of the Jews, was buried with some important Jewish rabbi, or other official, when he died, this theory being based upon the fact that this teraphim was defaced, one corner of it being chipped off. He said it was the custom to deposit in the grave any scroll of the law or other ceremonial objects that became defaced.

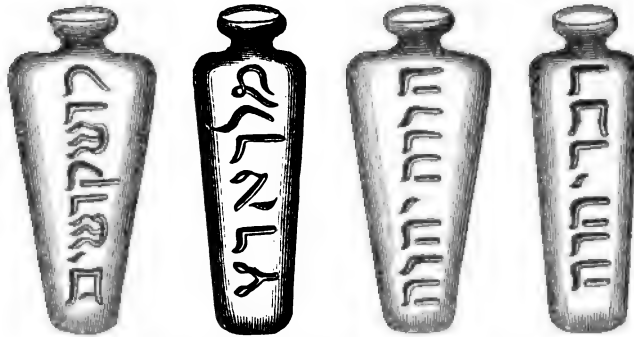
In this connection it may be recalled that the Book of Mormon was said to have been written by one Solomon Spaulding, living in 1812 in Conneaut, Ashtabula county, Ohio, and that it was a historical romance based upon the finding of certain Jewish relics in one of the prehistoric mounds of Ohio. It recited that the Prophet Mormon had wandered with the lost tribes to America. The manuscript got into the hands of Joseph Smith, founder of the Mormon church.

The finding of other Hebrew relics in another mound in the same locality is here cited merely as a corroborative incident.

* * * * *

Such is the account in *The Daily Oklahoman*. As the account of the discovery and dispute concerning the genuineness of the Newark "Holy Stones" has never appeared in the publications of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, we herewith make public such matter concerning the same as we think worthy of publication. In Benjamin J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, in the pages touching upon his visit at Newark (Licking county, Ohio) in September, 1860, the author (Lossing) says (page 563) that one of the purposes of his visit was to view in the neighborhood one of the most remarkable of the tumuli or ancient mounds with which the Ohio country abounds. He then says: "During the evening, in company with his son, I visited Mr. David Wyrick, a resident of the yillage, an engineer by profession, and an enthusiastic antiquarian, who had lately been made famous as the discoverer of a stone, with Hebrew inscriptions, in a portion of the ancient earthworks that abound in the neighborhood of Newark. I found him a plain, earnest man, and bearing, among those who know him best, a character above reproach for truth and sincerity. He showed me a large number of curious things taken from mounds in the neighborhood. * * * But the most curious of all the relics was the stone upon the four sides of which are words in Hebrew letters. Mr. Wyrick found them while searching for human remains in the centre of a small depression of the earth connected with the system of ancient earthworks in that region. The stone is in the form of a truncated cone, five inches in length, with two sides broader than the other two sides, and a neck and knob evidently formed for suspending it by a cord or chain. It has the appearance, in texture and color, of a novaculite, or 'honestone,' and is finely polished. The letters (said by those who are competent to decide to be ancient Hebrew) are neatly made in intaglio upon each of the four sides. How, and when, and for what practical or symbolical

purpose that stone was deposited in the earth there, may forever remain a mystery." And in a foot-note to the same, Mr. Lossing says: "The cavity in which Mr. Wyrick found this stone was about twenty feet in circumference, and about two feet in depth at the centre. When he had excavated through dark and rich alluvium about fourteen inches, he came to a lighter soil of a clayey nature, in which were pebbles. One of these, of oblong form, composed of reddish quartz, first attracted his attention. Soon afterward he found the inscribed stone imbedded in the clay. Gentlemen of learning examined it, and proved the letters to be obsolete Hebrew. The Rev. J. W. McCarty, of Newark, a Hebrew scholar, translated the words on three of the four sides as follows: 'Holy of Holies;' 'The Word of the Law;' and 'The Word of the Lord'. At a meeting of some of the leading citizens of Newark, held at the



THE FOUR SIDES OF THE HOLY STONE.

Court House about two months after my visit there, to consider the character and the circumstances of the finding of the 'Holy Stone,' General Dille presided, and Mr. McCarty gave an interesting account of the whole matter. It was stated that only four or five of the characters correspond to those now in use in the Hebrew books, but these furnish a key to the translation. It has already been stated by a gentleman familiar with the history and practice of the Freemasons, and who was a member of the fraternity, that the stone was of a kind used by masons of a certain grade in the East soon after the building of the first temple of Solomon. It has in their system, he said, a well-known meaning, its principal use in ancient times being for deposit beneath whatever structure the master mason might superintend. This symbol, he said, was not necessarily furnished with inscriptions, but masons entitled to use it might put such sentences upon it as that one has. It would be placed in the northeastern part of the foundation, and if it stood on its point would indicate that something more was deposited beneath. If it lay on its broadest face, the point or small end would indicate the direc-

tions where other deposits would be found. These, if found, would disclose the facts connected with the building. Was not the cavity in which the stone was found the foundation of a structure never erected?

"A few weeks subsequent to my visit, Mr. Wyrick found, in one of the mounds in that vicinity, a stone box, nearly egg-shaped, the two halves fitting together by a joint which runs around the stone lengthwise. Within this box was a stone seven inches long and three wide, on a smooth surface of which is a figure, in *bas relief*, well cut, and surrounded by characters thus described by the Rev. Mr. McCarty: 'The words over the head of the human figure contain three letters. Two of them are Hebrew, *Sheir* and *He* (or Heth). The third I inferred to be *Mem*—a conjecture most readily suggested by its form, it being exactly that of the old Gaelic *Muin* (M), and afterward fully borne out by its always answering thereto. This gave the word *Mosheh* (Moses) or *Meschiach* (Messiah).' Of the characters Mr. McCarty said 'some looked like the Hebrew coin character, some like the Phœnician alphabet, a few bore resemblance to those on the Grave Creekstone, and some I could not identify with any known alphabet.' He at last found that the language was really Hebrew, much like that found in the Bibles of the German Jews, and, after great and patient labor, he discovered that the whole constituted an abridged form of the Ten Commandments.

"This is not the place, nor has the writer the knowledge requisite for a discussion of the matter. I have simply stated the curious facts—facts well worthy of the earnest investigation of archæologists, for they raise the ethnological and historical question whether the mound-builders of this continent were of Asiatic origin, or were related to the Indian tribes whose remnants still exist."

* * * * *

Thus much from Lossing. In a work entitled "Archæology of Ohio," by M. C. Read, one of the most reliable and studious investigators of Ohio archæology, formerly of the Geological Survey of Ohio; Trustee of the Ohio Archæological Society in charge of the Society's exhibit at Philadelphia (1876); and Assistant Commissioner at the Exposition at New Orleans in 1884-5, the author said:

"The controversy over the Hebrew inscriptions, claimed to have been found by David Wyrick, near Newark, is now generally regarded as closed. They were found when evidence was eagerly sought to connect the aboriginal races with the house of Israel. Now that the idea of such a connection is abandoned by all, the discovery of Hebrew inscribed stones would be an anachronism, for such forgeries will always in some way represent the ideas of the time of the forgery. As an example, the greatest forgery of this century is the book of Mormon. A careful reading of it will disclose to any competent critic very nearly the date of the forgery. It was written during, or very soon after, the controversy

between Masonry and Anti-Masonry, and is decidedly Anti-Masonic. It was written during the theological controversy over popery, pedo-baptism; the salvation of infants; a paid priesthood, election and free-will, all of which questions it attempts to settle; when the 'falling power,' as it was called, was regarded as the work of the Spirit, which it describes and approves; while the act of divination by looking into a crystal was believed in by some; while it was believed that the native races were Israelites; and, before contact with Europeans, worshippers of the Great Spirit, and while it was popularly believed that the linguistic peculiarities of our Bible were wholly characteristic of the languages in which it was originally written, and not of the state of the English language at the time of its translation. These internal evidences fix the date of its composition as about fifty years ago.

"Mr. Wyrick's first find was the inscribed key-stone in the form of a Masonic emblem on which was carved in Hebrew of the twelfth century, 'The King of the Earth.' 'The World of the Lord.' 'The Laws of Jehovah,' 'The Holy of Holies.' In the year following he 'found', enclosed in a neat stone box with a closely fitting cover, a stone tablet having on it an effigy of Moses in priestly robes and an epitome of the ten commandments in Hebrew. Surely no better evidence could be secured of a Hebrew migration to this country. It is significant that Mr. Wyrick's published accounts of the 'finds' were largely devoted to an attempt to prove that they could not be forged, and that upon his death there was found in his working-room a Hebrew Bible which doubtless aided him much in finding Hebrew inscriptions.

"These Holy relics were sold to David M. Johnson, of Coshocton, Ohio, who in 1867 employed laborers for several days in exploring a mound from which one of the inscribed stones, he obtained from Wyrick was taken. His search was rewarded by finding *inside of a human skull* a conical stone about three (3) inches long on which was also a Hebrew inscription. No one seems to have been surprised by the peculiarity of the place in which it was found, or to have doubted its genuineness. It is probable that no archæologist of fair standing can now be found to advocate its genuineness or that of the Wyrick finds."

* * * * *

Professor Warren K. Moorehead in the preface to his work on "Primitive Man in Ohio" has this to say concerning the Newark discovery:

"Some writers have misrepresented and distorted field testimony to uphold theories previously formed. As an illustration of this, and of the great damage that it has done, we need but call the attention of our readers to the famous 'Holy Stone' of Newark. An enthusiastic archæologist resided many years ago at Newark, Ohio. He was thoroughly in love with his work, and his life's ambition was to discover the origin of man upon the American continent. He believed the lost

ten tribes of Israel to be the ancestors of the mound-building tribes. After opening mound after mound and finding no evidence whatever in support of his hypothesis, he became desperate. He purchased a Hebrew Bible and primer, and shortly afterwards there was discovered in a stone box, in a mound that he had investigated, a slab, on one side of which was a likeness of Moses, and on the reverse an abridged form of the ten commandments. The stone attracted world-wide attention, and many publications were issued describing it. No one doubted the genuineness of the affair until after the man's death. In cleaning up his office the administrator found in a small rear room bits of slate with attempts at carving Hebrew characters upon them. They also found a fair copy of the wood-cut of Moses used as a frontispiece in the testament.

"The influence of this over-zealous deceiver has gone throughout the length and breadth of our land, and one may still hear at lectures upon American archæology statements concerning the Indian's descent from the Jew, basing such assertions upon the testimony of the supposed 'Holy Stone of Newark,' which, as is above shown, was simply a counterfeit."

* * * * *

Col. Chas. Whittlesey, President of the Western Reserve and Northern Ohio Historical Society, in his pamphlet on "Archæological Frauds," has this to say about the Newark "Holy Stones":

"Near the close of the month of June, 1860, I was in Newark on business having no connection with the old earth-works, for which this place has now become celebrated.

"About 4 o'clock in the afternoon the late David Wyrick, an old resident of the town, was seen in a very excited manner, hurrying along the main street, from the direction of the canal. He was regarded there as an eccentric character, an uneducated man, but on some subjects, particularly mathematics, as possessed of decided ability. He had held the office of county surveyor until long continued attacks of acute rheumatism rendered him physically incompetent. With his limbs and joints so swollen by elephantiasis, attended by intense suffering, his feet and hands so disfigured as scarcely to retain their human aspect, he was everywhere regarded with commiseration. For some years he had adopted the theory that the Hebrews were the builders of the earth-works of the West, and when his physical condition would allow it, sought diligently among them for proofs to sustain this hobby. He was certainly an enthusiast, his mind somewhat distorted, in sympathy with his body, but no one of his neighbors thought him capable of deliberate deception.

"As he passed rapidly from shop to shop, and store to store, on this hot afternoon of June, he exhibited with exultation the stone, afterwards known as the 'Holy Stone,' as a triumphant proof and settlement of his Jewish theory. General Israel Dille, who had known Wyrick

since he was a young man and had full confidence in him, proposed that we should take him in a buggy, and at once proceed to the spot where it was found. A lad of his, about 14 years of age, helped to make the excavation, and he was taken with us. We drove immediately to the spot, about a mile southwest of the town, where the earth they had thrown out was still fresh and moist. The hole they had made was near the center of an artificial circular depression, common among the earth-works, about twenty feet in diameter and three feet deep at the middle, with a low rim or bank around it. He said he and his son were searching for human bones, and, at a depth of 12 or 14 inches, about an hour previous, had thrown out the inscribed stone. It had been only partially cleaned, and the dirt being a fine yellow loam, which filled the sunken spaces, corresponded fully with that of the pit. The lad confirmed what his father said, and added that as soon as the characters on the stone were discovered he ran away to town with it like a crazy man.

"The stone had not the appearance of great antiquity, but suggested that it might have been buried fifty years. The Free Masons of Newark at once recognized it as one of their emblems, representing the 'Key Stone' of an arch which Master Masons wore in early times as an insignia of their rank. On these 'Key Stones' and on their modern substitutes the owner was privileged to engrave mottoes according to taste. There were modes enough to account for such a stone being found in this depression, without giving it any connection with the Mound Builders. It might have been dropped there since the advent of the presence of white men and covered by the accumulations of loam and vegetation continually washed towards the center of the cavity. It was secured by the Ethnological Society of New York and commented upon fully by the members, but with a general doubt of its genuineness.

"Mr. Wyrick's account, which he published soon after in pamphlet, reads thus:

"The following is a representation of the four sides of the supposed keystone that was found on the 29th of June, 1860, in a sink or depression commonly called a "well hole", whilst looking for bones that said holes were said to contain. The object of looking for human bones was to ascertain the truth of such assertion. This stone is in the size and shape represented by the cuts, and has upon each of the four sides a Hebrew inscription, in the Hebrew character, which, when translated, reads, "The King of the Earth," "The Word of the Lord," "The Laws of Jehovah," "The Holy of Holies."

"The letters are nearly an inch long, and well sunk into the stone. Taken in the same order as Mr. Wyrick has recited them, the Hebrew sentences are 'Torah Adonai,' 'Dabbah Adonai,' 'Kadosh Kadosheem,' 'Malach Aratz,' and with a free reading give a consecutive sentence thus, according to three Hebrew scholars acting independently: 'The law of God, the word of God, the King of the earth is most holy.' While

this stone was being discussed Wyrick went on digging, and his discoveries were much more startling and doubtful than those already given, but much more apropos of Moses and the Jews. On page 8 of his illustrated pamphlet, the results are thus described:

"The following four cuts are those of four sides of a very singular stone, found enclosed in a stone box buried twenty feet in the earth of a tremendous stone mound. This stone was found on the first of November, 1861, in company with five others (persons). In the first place, on removing this stone pile (several years before), which was said (truly) to have been forty feet high, rising from a base 182 feet in diameter, some of the workhands came to a mound of pure clay, of which they say there was or is quite a number within the periphery of this stone base, entirely around it, but covered by this enormous stone stack.'

* * * 'In one of these, in the clay, they found the shell of an old log, on which lay seven copper rings, with the appearance of some extremely coarse cloth. * * * Removing the old shell they found it to be the cover to another piece of timber, resembling a trough, in which was coarse cloth (very rotten), human bones, hair, and ten copper rings, which they took, and covered up the trough and its contents.

"In July, 1860, I happened to see a piece of the wood and four of the rings (now in possession of Dr. Wilson, of Newark), and repaired to the place—(two miles east of Jackstown and south of the National Road)—with some work hands, and sacrilegiously took it up.' In November, 1861, Wyrick and three others, one of whom is said to have been Dr. Nichols, again attacked the wooden sarcophagus which had by that time been so much covered by falling earth, that they labored from morning till three P. M. uncovering the pile of clay. It was the usual fire clay of the coal series, about two feet thick, evidently brought there. In this the wooden trough was firmly imbedded, and in this manner it had been preserved.

"Near the under surface, imbedded in the clay, was taken the stone box (engraved size of nature in the pamphlet) whilst digging in the hole in the clay, in which (the box) was enclosed a black stone, as is shown by the four following cuts of it, with the characters on each side, the English of which appears to be an abridgment of the Ten Commandments.'

"On one of the sides of the blackstone, is a likeness of Moses with his name in Hebrew over his head. He is represented as a very savage and pugnacious individual. The Hebrew letters were like those of the Holy Stone readily translated by Hebrew scholars. Wyrick closes his pamphlet in these words: 'Would it not require a very profound scholar in Hebrew to make such an abridgement of the Hebrew decalogue with foreign characters as is made above.' * * * 'Bacon's arrant school boy borrowing a Hebrew Bible even in Ohio of some minister and whittling hone stones into gin bottles (Bacon's Life Elixir) forever

with all the jack knives in Christendom could (not) produce even in Ohio such an outrage or piece of scholarship.'

"This somewhat blind and sarcastic allusion was intended for those who questioned the genuineness of these inscribed stones. Experienced archæologists had never much faith in the Holy stone. When Moses and the ten commandments appeared, Wyrick's character as an impostor was soon established.

"Not long after this he died, and in his private room among the valuable relics he had so zealously collected, a Hebrew Bible was found, which fully cleared up the mystery of Hebrew inscriptions 'even in Ohio.' This had been the secret and study of years, by a poverty stricken and suffering man, who in some respects was almost a genius. His case presents the human mind in one of its most mysterious phases, partly aberration and partly fraud. When the Arabs who are employed to explore the ruins on the Nile and the Euphrates, discover what relics their employers are in pursuit of, they generally produce them. Here the motive is plain, it is money. Perhaps this was the case with the 'sinister' individual, who presented himself to Professors Locke and Kirtland with the Cincinnati stone."

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We have thus given at some length most of the material worth reproducing, hitherto published, concerning the so-called "Holy Stones of Newark." The testimony thus produced we believe is sufficient to convince any reader that these alleged religious relics of a prehistoric people were frauds. They cannot therefore be reckoned as of any value in establishing the theory that the Mound Builders were descended from the lost tribes of Israel. Upon this latter theory, however, scores of volumes have been published. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the various presumptions upon which that theory is based. There are many, and some of them not without plausibility. It is one of many interesting theories concerning the origin of that mysterious people which for want of a better name we designate as the Mound Builders. It might be added in closing that many other stones have been found in various mounds bearing alleged inscriptions which the respective finders claim are evidences that the Mound Builders, whoever they were, had a written language. But in almost every instance these so-called findings are proven to have been unauthentic or of such a dubious environment as to have no value as proof. It is undoubtedly the unanimous consensus of the most authoritative archæologists that thus far no reliable evidence has ever been discovered that the Mound Builders had a written language even of the crudest form.

AVERY'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Fourth Volume of "A History of the United States and its People," by Elroy McKendree Avery, has been issued by its publishers, The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, Ohio, and has all the conspicuous merits of the preceding three volumes. As the author himself states in his preface, in the third volume, he traced "the continued and intensifying conflict between prerogative and popular rights in the English colonies in America." In the Fourth Volume he tells "how the shackles of an ever-present menace were broken and the colonists were schooled and nerved for the coming grapple." This volume covers the Colonial period from 1745 to 1764. This epoch includes the romantic and dramatic events known as the French and Indian War. Events, the bare recital of which is always interesting to the student and also the general reader of history, while in the clear and graphic portrayal of Mr. Avery they are doubly entertaining and readable. The French and Indian War, in many of its phases, touches closely upon the pre-state history of Ohio. Many of its more important incidents occurred upon the banks of the Ohio, especially upon its parent streams, the Allegheny and Monongahela. In 1749, the new Governor-General of Canada, Galissonier, sent the famous expedition under Celeron de Bienville to make friends with the Indians and to warn the English traders who were beginning to swarm over the Alleghenies. Celeron proceeded by portage from Lake Erie to Lake Chautauqua; thence down the Allegheny and the Ohio to the mouth of the Great Miami, up which he rowed; thence by portage to the Maumee; thence by the Lakes back to Quebec, planting at various points along the Ohio, his lead plates, upon which were engraved the claims of France to the Ohio Valley. This expedition was followed in 1750 by Christopher Gist, George Croghan and Andrew Montour, the party sent out by the first Ohio Company "to look out and observe the most convenient road you can find from the Company's store at Wills creek to a landing at Monongahela." This party proceeded across Ohio to the Indian village (Pickawillany) on the big Miami. These two expeditions in behalf of France and England respectively were the opening preludes to the coming contest between the Anglo Saxon and the Gaul for the possession of the Ohio Valley. In the immediate subsequent events the young George Washington, not yet of age, took a conspicuous part as the representative of Virginia and the British claims. Mr. Avery tersely and accurately recites the diplomatic meetings between Washington and the French representatives at Logstown, Venango and Le Boeuf. The forks of the Ohio was the objective point of this contest, it being regarded as the gateway to the west. It was in his expedition at the head of the Virginia militia, in 1754, to the site of Fort Duquesne that Washington won his first victory, met his first defeat, and experienced the only surrender of his life. The

latter occurred at Fort Necessity, which significant name Washington gave to the rude backwoods intrenchments which he threw up on the Great Meadows, at the base of Laurel Hill, the western slope of which faced the Monongahela. Then came Braddock's pompous expedition and its tragic defeat within sight of the walls of Fort Duquesne. Logically and clearly Mr. Avery then follows through the various campaigns of the French and Indian War. The campaigns of Crown Point and Niagara, the removal of the Acadians, and the campaigns of Oswego, Fort William Henry, Louisburg, Ticonderoga and Fort Frontenac, the fall of Fort Duquesne; the siege of Quebec and the marvelously interesting battle on the plains of Abraham, in which decisive contest both leaders, the intrepid Montcalm and the invincible Wolfe lost their lives. The gauge of war was to the Saxon, and the dominion of New France in America was ended. The Peace of Paris concluded the Seven Years' War which was being waged between the conflicting nations, with greater cost and extent in Europe than it had been in America. Mr. Avery, with true historic perspective, keeps before the reader the logical relationship of the same contest on the two continents—America and Europe. The last chapters of the book are devoted to the Cherokee and Pontiac wars. The proceedings of Pontiac's conspiracy especially interest the Ohio reader, as many of its most important incidents occurred within the territory of the present Buckeye state. By the Quebec proclamation of 1763, "the region between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes was temporarily closed to settlement by a provision prohibiting the governors of any of the colonies from granting lands therein, prohibiting the purchase of lands from the Indians, and requiring a license from Indian traders. Apparently, the intention was to hold the Ohio country as a vast Indian reservation, subject to white settlement only by direct permission of the King in council. Practically, the proclamation set aside the claims (most of them shadowy) of the coast colonies to this western country and fixed their western limits at the Allegheny watershed." "Major Rogers was sent by General Amherst, the English commander, to take possession in the name of King George of the western posts included in the late capitulation, Detroit, Michillimackinac, etc. With two hundred rangers in whaleboats, Rogers left Montreal on the thirteenth of September, 1760. They ascended the Saint Lawrence, skirted the northern shore of Lake Ontario, and were at Fort Niagara on the second of October. They carried their boats around the great cataract, launched them in the river, and slowly worked their way along the southern shore of Lake Erie. On the seventh of November they were at the mouth of a river that Rogers called the Chogage (Cuyahoga) where they decided to camp until the weather became better. No troops had ever before borne the British flag so far beyond the mountains. Soon after their arrival, a party of Indians appeared as an embassy from the ruler of that country; before night, Pontiac was there in person haughtily de-

manding why Rogers and his men had come thither without his permission and what was their errand. Up to this time, the shrewd and ambitious chieftain had been the firm ally of the French, but when Rogers informed him that Canada had been surrendered to the English and that he was on his way to take possession of Detroit, the calumet was smoked and harmony seemed established." Then follow the details of the Pontiac conspiracy. Pontiac, the great Ottawa Chief, may be regarded as an Ohio Indian. It is claimed with good authority, and so far as we can learn without contradiction, that he was born at the mouth of the Ottawa river, now Auglaize, where it empties into the Maumee, the present site of Defiance. Thus Ohio history begins. Mr. Avery's Fourth Volume, like all the others, is profusely illustrated with portraits of the personages of whom it treats, with diagrams of the geography of the respective events, and facsimiles of the historic documents pertaining thereto. No work to our knowledge has been so lavishly adorned with valuable and illuminating illustrations. Many of them in colors are works of art. We continue to commend this work to the readers of American history.

DIARY OF MANASSEH CUTLER.

In a recent publication, William E. Curtis, the distinguished journalist and author, gives excerpts from the journal and letters of Manasseh Cutler. Much of his article deserves a place in the pages of the *Quarterly*. Mr. Curtis says:

Charles Gates Dawes of Chicago has the diary of his ancestor, Manasseh Cutler, the founder of Ohio, the real author of the Ordinance of '87, a member of Congress for many years from Massachusetts, clergyman, merchant, teacher, scientist, surveyor, explorer and patriot—one of the ablest and most versatile characters in American history.

In his journal and his letters to his family and friends at home Mr. Cutler wrote many interesting accounts of his experiences in Washington, as a member of Congress during the administration of Thomas Jefferson. On January 1, 1802, he tells of the ceremonies at the White House:

"Although the President has no levees, a number of federalists agreed to go from the Capitol in coaches to the President's house and wait upon him with the compliments of the season. We were received with politeness, entertained with cake and wine. The mammoth cheese having been presented this morning, the President invited us to go, as he expressed it, to the mammoth room to see the mammoth cheese. There we viewed this monument of human weakness and folly as long as we pleased and then returned."

THE GREAT DEMOCRATIC CHEESE.

It is explained in a footnote that, "When Jefferson was chosen President, Elder John Leland, a Massachusetts clergyman of strong Democratic proclivities, proposed that his flock celebrate the victory by making for the new Chief Magistrate the biggest cheese the world had even seen. Every man and woman who owned a cow was to give for this cheese all the milk she yielded on a certain day—only no federal cow must contribute a drop. A huge cider press was fitted up to make it in and on the appointed day the whole country turned out with pails and tubs of curd, the girls and women in their best gowns and ribbons, and the men in their Sunday coats and clean shirt collars. The cheese was put to press with prayer, hymn singing and great solemnity. When it was well dried it weighed 1600 pounds, and Rev. John Leland drove with it all the way to Washington. It was a journey of three weeks. All the country had heard of the big cheese and came out to look at it as the elder drove along."

A few days later Mr. Cutler writes again: "Last Sunday, Leland, the cheese-monger, a poor, ignorant, illiterate clownish preacher, who was the conductor of this monument of human weakness and folly to its place of destination, was introduced as preacher to both houses of Congress. The President, contrary to all former practice, made one of the audience, and a great number of ladies and gentlemen from I know not where. Such a performance I never heard before and hope never shall again. The text was: 'And behold, a greater than Solomon is here.' The design of the preacher was principally to apply the allusion, not to the person intended in the text, but to him (Jefferson), who was then present. Such a farrago, bawled with stunning voice, horrid tone, frightful grimaces and extravagant gestures I believe was never heard by any decent auditory before. Shame or laughter appeared in every countenance. Such an outrage upon religion, the Sabbath, and common decency was extremely painful to every sober, thinking person present."

John Leland, the mammoth cheese man, was born at Grafton, Mass., May 14, 1754, and died at North Adams, Mass., January 14, 1841. From 1792 until his death, forty-nine years, he was pastor of the Baptist Church at Cheshire, Mass. He is described as a man of great eccentricity and shrewdness, but without culture, and a zealous Democrat.

DINNER WITH THE PRESIDENT.

Saturday, February 6, 1802, Mr. Cutler was invited to dine with President Jefferson, in company with six other members of the House of Representatives and three members of the Senate, and he confided to his journal that the dinner was not so elegant as when he was entertained at the White House a year previous. But the food appears

to have been abundant—"Rice soup, round of beef, turkey, mutton, ham, loin of veal, cutlets of mutton or veal, fried eggs, fried beef, a pie called macaroni, which appears to be a rich crust filled with the strillions of onions or shallots, which I took it to be, tasted very strong and not agreeable. Mr. Lewis told me there was none in it; it was an Italian dish, and what appeared like onions was made of flour and butter, with a particularly strong liquor mixed with them. Ice cream very good, crust wholly dried, crumbled into thin flakes; a dish somewhat like a pudding—inside white as milk or curd, very porous and light, covered with cream sauce; very fine. Many other jimcracks, a great variety of fruit, plenty of wines and good. President social. We drank tea and viewed again the great cheese."

THE DANDIFIED DIPLOMAT.

In the diary of his daily life as a member of Congress from 1801 to 1805, Mr. Cutler gives us charming glimpses of Washington society and official entertainments in those days. He tells a good deal about the French minister, Gen. Taureau, who had occupied a conspicuous position in France for several years before coming to Washington in 1804: "Of obscure birth, but handsome and clever, he made his way up and became an aid to Napoleon Bonaparte. In the rapid changes of popular favor, he was condemned to death—his door marked with the fatal guide to the bloody guillotiners. A servant girl employed about the jail rubbed out the mark and so saved his life, in return for which he married her. The alliance, of course, proved to be a most unhappy one, ending in a separation at the time he was representing his country in Washington."

While calling at the White House on New Year day, 1805, Mr. Cutler saw Gen. Taureau for the first time, and in his diary says: "We met him at the door covered with lace almost from head to foot, and very much powdered. Walked with his hat off, though it was rather misty. His secretary and one aid and one other with him." Later Mr. Cutler called at the legation in Georgetown and says: "We proposed in our family (as he always refers to his fellow-congressmen at the boarding house on Capitol Hill) to call on Mr. Taureau, French minister, who had left his card for us. Six of us went in a coach to his house. As he was at home we went in and were conducted to a large hall up one pair of stairs. Found him disposed to be quite social, though he speaks very little English. One of his aides-de-camp assisted in the conversation. We tarried about an hour and retired. We then went to the English minister's, and left our cards without getting out of our coaches."

PARTY AT THE BRITISH LEGATION.

Tuesday, February 12, Mr. Cutler dined at the British legation and makes this record in his diary: "This day, in compliance with card received eight or ten days ago, dined with his excellency, Mr. Merry, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his Britannic majesty. Company, twenty-eight; thirteen members of Congress. Table superb with plate in center, and in the last service the knives, forks and spoons were gold. Six double-branch candlesticks with candles lighted. Very pleasing entertainment. Coffee in drawing room immediately after dining. Retired about nine. Six from our family went in a coach and returned upon foot."

Mr. Cutler seems to have become quite intimate at the British legation, for he dined there again the following week, and attended a card party there a few days later. His diary for February 26 contains this entry: "This evening at British minister's by invitation to tea and cards. The company very large. About thirty-five members of both houses of Congress, all the heads of departments, their ladies and daughters, many gentlemen and ladies of the city of Georgetown, and many strangers. I presume the number 150 or 200." And again, March 2, he writes: "Walked fifteen miles. Dined at Mr. Merry's by Mrs. Merry's invitation. She came twice to invite me. Presented me with 'Darwin.'" There are frequent references in his diary after that date to the British minister and Mrs. Merry, and their common interest in botany.

Sunday, February 17, 1805, he described the religious services which were held each Sabbath in the Hall of Representatives, where "two pieces of Psalmody were performed by the band of the Marine Corps in uniform; about 80 or 100."

So that it would seem that more than a hundred years ago the Marine Band was even larger than it is now.

McKINLEY MONUMENT.

DEDICATED SEPTEMBER 30, 1907.

Soon after the tragic death of President William McKinley many leading citizens of the nation such as Senator Hanna, Justice Day, Governor Herrick, Hon. George B. Cortelyou and other prominent state and national officials united in the organization of The McKinley National Memorial Association. The purpose was the erection at Canton, Ohio, of a monument suitable to the memory of the beloved and noble President. Subscriptions poured in from all parts of the country and the association raised through voluntary contributions more than \$600,000; a result eloquently attesting the abiding and deep hold the late President had in the hearts of his countrymen. And here it is appropriate to state that already more monuments have been erected to the memory of McKinley than to any one of the other presidents, including Washington and Lincoln. Of this munificent sum \$100,000 was set aside as a permanent fund to be used in the maintenance of the monument and its surroundings. Thus about one-half a million dollars was at the disposal of the officers of the association and the monument committee for the securing of designs and the execution thereof. The selecting committee secured the assistance of an advisory commission consisting of the architects Robert Peabody, of Boston, and Walter Cook, of New York, and Daniel Chester French, the distinguished sculptor of the "Minute Man" and other famous American figures. Many architects and artists submitted plans for the mausoleum. The award was conferred upon H. Van Buren Magonigle, of New York. The corner stone was laid with imposing ceremonies on November 16, 1905. There are many monuments in various parts of the world, vaster in size and more ornate and costly, but none, to our mind, in which are so happily combined the elements of simplicity, dignity and purity; elements so eminently

characteristic of the man whose memory this mausoleum is to perpetuate.

The stately tomb stands upon the summit of a hill, on the borders of the beautiful Westlawn Cemetery, Canton, and in the center of a tract of land twenty-six acres in extent, owned by the association and laid out by it, with the view of enhancing the



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The McKinley Mausoleum, Canton, Ohio, showing the Longwater in front.

general effect of the memorial erected as the resting place of the President and Mrs. McKinley. As a portal to the patriotic Mecca there is a circular plaza, surrounded by a parapet wall, and directly in front of the mausoleum is a basin, more than 500 feet in length, known technically as the long water. Steps rise

from this basin to the tomb itself and the latter is reflected in the smooth water below as in a great mirror. The steps constitute a grand stairway, seventy-five feet in height and forming the principal approach to the tomb. The mausoleum itself is ninety-eight feet in height and seventy-nine in diameter. It is of circular form, and adapts itself to the shape of the hill on which it is placed. The material of the exterior wall is pink Milford granite. The interior, which has been given an imposing columnar treatment, is finished in light gray Knoxville marble with a honed surface, the high Doric columns being so placed as to appear half buried in the sides of the wall. The floor is mosaic marble, the pieces of which were brought from many states. There is a double sarcophagus of black polished granite for the bodies of the late President and his wife.

The lighting of the interior of the tomb is from above, the opening being so proportioned to the space to be lighted as to attain an effect of solemnity. In the arrangement of the grounds about the mausoleum and the approaches to the tomb there is a suggestion of a cross and sword, such a design being thought appropriate in the case of a memorial to a martyr President who was a warrior, and a chief magistrate in time of war.

At the head of the grand stairway and almost fifty feet in front of the facade of the mausoleum stands the statue of McKinley executed by Charles Henry Niehaus, of Cincinnati, the designer also of the statue of Garfield, at Cincinnati, Lee, at Richmond, Va., and those of the historian, Gibbon, and the Hebrew, Moses, in the Congressional Library. Mr. Niehaus found a worthy subject for his genius in the princely figure and chaste features of the late President. The statue is in bronze and of heroic size and represents the President as he appeared delivering his last public utterance to his people in Music Hall at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, just before the fatal shot was fired that terminated his illustrious career. He stands before an arm chair, attired in his customary frock coat, his right hand thrust into the pocket of his trousers, holding in his left hand the manuscript of his speech.

Upon the face of the pedestal of the statue these words are inscribed:

"William McKinley, President of the United States, a statesman singularly gifted to unite the discordant forces of government and mold the diverse purposes of men toward progressive and salutary action; a Magistrate whose poise of judgment was tested and vindicated in a succession of National emergencies; good citizen, brave soldier, wise executive, helper and leader of men, exemplar to his people of the virtues that build and conserve the state, society and the home."

Above the door of the tomb and forming a background for the statue as seen by the approaching visitor, is a lunette, also by Mr. Niehaus. In the semi-circular field are three figures. In the center, wearing a mural crown, is the figure of Ohio. She raises with both hands a voluminous cloak with which she appears to cover with a protective gesture the two kneeling figures to right and left. On the right of the central figure kneels a male genius representing the arts of peace. Near by is an anvil. In his right hand this figure raises toward the protecting deity a vase and in his left carries another emblem of the arts. The genius of war, on the opposite side of the lunette, kneels and presents a sword wreathed with flowers. The figures are in relief, the central being the highest. The effect of the composition is decorative, and it gives a poetic and artistic background to the McKinley statue itself, without in any way distracting from the latter the attention it should receive.

This monument was dedicated on September 30, 1907. Thousands gathered not only from Ohio, but all sections of the country. Amid brilliant military pageant and fitting civic ceremonies the casket containing the mortal remains of the late President were consigned to their last resting abode. The address of President Roosevelt and Governor Harris are herewith given. They were worthy tributes to an inspiring memory and deserve permanent preservation.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

We have gathered together to-day to pay our meed of respect and affection to the memory of William McKinley, who



THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

as President won a place in the hearts of the American people such as but three or four of all the Presidents of this country have ever won. He was of singular uprightness and purity of character, alike in public and in private life; a citizen who loved peace, he did his duty faithfully and well for four years of war when the honor of the nation called him to arms. As Congressman, as Governor of his State, and finally as President, he rose to the foremost place among our statesmen, reaching a position which would satisfy the

keenest ambition; but he never lost that simple and thoughtful kindness toward every human being, great or small, lofty or humble, with whom he was brought in contact, which so endeared him to our people. He had to grapple with more serious and complex problems than any President since Lincoln, and yet, while meeting every demand of statesmanship, he continued to live a beautiful and touching family life, a life very healthy for this nation to see in its foremost citizen; and now the woman who walked in the shadow ever after his death, the wife to whom his loss was a calamity more crushing than it could be to any other human being, lies beside him here in the same sepulchre.

There is a singular appropriateness in the inscription on his monument. Mr. Cortelyou, whose relations with him were of such close intimacy, gives me the following information about it: On the President's trip to the Pacific slope in the spring of 1901 President Wheeler, of the University of California, conferred the degree of LL. D. upon him in words so well chosen

that they struck the fastidious taste of John Hay, then Secretary of State, who wrote and asked for a copy of them from President Wheeler. On the receipt of this copy he sent the following letter to President McKinley, a letter which now seems filled with a strange and unconscious prescience:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT :

President Wheeler sent me the enclosed at my request. You will have the words in more permanent shape. They seem to me remarkably well chosen, and stately and dignified enough to serve — long hence, please God — as your epitaph.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN HAY.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, }
Office of the President. }

"By authority vested in me by the regents of the University of California, I confer the degree of Doctor of Laws upon William McKinley, President of the United States, a statesman singularly gifted to unite the discordant forces of the Government and mold the diverse purposes of men toward progressive and salutary action, a magistrate whose poise of judgment has been tested and vindicated in a succession of national emergencies; good citizen, brave soldier, wise executive, helper and leader of men, exemplar to his people of the virtues that build and conserve the state, society, and the home.

"Berkeley, May 15, 1901."

It would be hard to imagine an epitaph which a good citizen would be more anxious to deserve or one which would more happily describe the qualities of that great and good citizen whose life we here commemorate. He possessed to a very extraordinary degree the gift of uniting discordant forces and securing from them a harmonious action which told for good government. From purposes not merely diverse, but bitterly conflicting, he was able to secure healthful action for the good of the State. In both poise and judgment he rose level to the several emergencies he had to meet as leader of the nation, and

like all men with the root of time greatness in them he grew to steadily larger stature under the stress of heavy responsibilities. He was a good citizen and a brave soldier, a Chief Executive whose wisdom entitled him to the trust which he received throughout the nation. He was not only a leader of men but pre-eminently a helper of men; for one of his most marked traits was the intensely human quality of his wide and deep sympathy. Finally, he not merely preached, he was, that most valuable of all citizens in a democracy like ours, a man who in the highest place served as an unconscious example to his people of the virtues that build and conserve alike our public life, and the foundation of all public life, the intimate life of the home.

Many lessons are taught us by his career, but none more valuable than the lesson of broad human sympathy for and among all of our citizens of all classes and creeds. No other President has ever more deserved to have his life work characterized in Lincoln's words as being carried on "with malice toward none, with charity toward all." As a boy he worked hard with his hands; he entered the Army as a private soldier; he knew poverty; he earned his own livelihood; and by his own exertions he finally rose to the position of a man of moderate means. Not merely was he in personal touch with farmer and town dweller, with capitalist and wageworker, but he felt an intimate understanding of each, and therefore an intimate sympathy with each; and his consistent effort was to try to judge all by the same standard and to treat all with the same justice. Arrogance toward the weak, and envious hatred of those well off, were equally abhorrent to his just and gentle soul.

Surely this attitude of his should be the attitude of all our people to-day. It would be a cruel disaster to this country to permit ourselves to adopt an attitude of hatred and envy toward success worthily won, toward wealth honestly acquired. Let us in this respect profit by the example of the republics of this Western Hemisphere to the south of us. Some of these republics have prospered greatly; but there are certain ones that have lagged far behind, that still continue in a condition of material poverty, of social and political unrest and confusion. Without exception the republics of the former class are those in which

honest industry has been assured of reward and protection; those where a cordial welcome has been extended to the kind of enterprise which benefits the whole country, while incidentally, as is right and proper, giving substantial rewards to those who manifest it. On the other hand, the poor and backward republics, the republics in which the lot of the average citizen is least desirable, and the lot of the laboring man worst of all, are precisely those republics in which industry has been killed because wealth exposed its owner to spoliation. To these communities foreign capital now rarely comes, because it has been found that as soon as capital is employed so as to give substantial remuneration to those supplying it, it excites ignorant envy and hostility, which result in such oppressive action, within or without the law, as sooner or later to work a virtual confiscation. Every manifestation of feeling of this kind in our civilization should be crushed at the outset by the weight of a sensible public opinion.

From the standpoint of our material prosperity there is only one other thing as important as the discouragement of a spirit of envy and hostility toward honest business men, toward honest men of means; this is the discouragement of dishonest business men.

Wait a moment; I don't want you to applaud this part unless you are willing to applaud also the part I read first, to which you listened in silence. I want you to understand that I will stand just as straight for the rights of the honest man who wins his fortune by honest methods as I will stand against the dishonest man who wins a fortune by dishonest methods. And I challenge the right to your support in one attitude just as much as in the other. I am glad you applauded when you did, but I want you to go back now and applaud the other statement. I will read a little of it over again. "Every manifestation of ignorant envy and hostility toward honest men who acquire wealth by honest means should be crushed at the outset by the weight of a sensible public opinion." Thank you. Now I'll go on.

From the standpoint of our material prosperity there is only one other thing as important as the discouragement of a spirit of envy and hostility toward honest business men, toward hon-

est men of means, and that is the discouragement of dishonest business men, the war upon chicanery and wrongdoing which are peculiarly repulsive, peculiarly noxious when exhibited by men who have no excuse of want, of poverty, of ignorance for their crimes. My friends, I will wage war against those dishonest men to the utmost extent of my ability, and I will stand no less stoutly in defense of honest men, rich or poor. Men of means and, above all, men of great wealth can exist in safety under the peaceful protection of the state only in orderly societies, where liberty manifests itself through and under the law. That is what you fought for, you veterans. You fought for the supremacy of the national law in every corner of this Republic. It is these men, the men of wealth, who more than any others, should in the interest of the class to which they belong, in the interest of their children and their children's children, seek in every way, but especially in the conduct of their lives, to insist upon and to build up respect for the law. It is an extraordinary thing, a very extraordinary thing, that it should be necessary for me to utter as simple a truth as that; yet it is necessary. It may not be true from the standpoint of some particular individual of this class of very wealthy men, but in the long run it is pre-eminently true from the standpoint of the class as a whole, no less than of the country as a whole, that it is a veritable calamity to achieve a temporary triumph by violation or evasion of the law, and we are the best friends of the man of property, we show ourselves the staunchest upholders of the rights of property when we set our faces like flint against those offenders who do wrong in order to acquire great wealth, or who use this wealth as a help to wrongdoing.

I sometimes feel that I have trenched a little on your province, Brother Bristol, and on that of your brethren, by preaching. But whenever I speak of the wrongdoing of a man of wealth or of a man of poverty, poor man or rich man, I always want to try to couple together the fact that wrongdoing is wrong just as much in one case as in the other, with the fact that right is just as much right in one case as in the other. I want the plain people of this country, I want all of us who do not have great wealth, to remember that in our own interest, and because it is

right, we must be just as scrupulous in doing justice to the man of great wealth as in exacting justice from him.

Wrongdoing is confined to no class. Good and evil are to be found among both rich and poor, and in drawing the line among our fellows we must draw it on conduct and not on worldly possessions. Woe to this country if we ever get to judging men by anything save their worth as men, without regard to their fortune in life. In other words, my plea is that you draw the line on conduct and not on worldly possessions. In the abstract most of us will admit this. It is a rather more difficult proposition in the concrete. We can act upon such doctrines only if we really have knowledge of, and sympathy with, one another. If both the wage-worker and the capitalist are able to enter each into the other's life, to meet him so as to get into genuine sympathy with him, most of the misunderstanding between them will disappear and its place will be taken by a judgment broader, juster, more kindly, and more generous; for each will find in the other the same essential human attributes that exist in himself. It was President McKinley's peculiar glory that in actual practice he realized this as it is given to but few men to realize it; that his broad and deep sympathies made him feel a genuine sense of oneness with all his fellow-Americans, whatever their station or work in life, so that to his soul they were all joined with him in a great brotherly democracy of the spirit. It is not given to many of us in our lives actually to realize this attitude to the extent that he did; but we can at least have it before us as the goal of our endeavor, and by so doing we shall pay honor better than in any other way to the memory of the dead President whose services in life we this day commemorate.

REMARKS OF GOVERNOR ANDREW L. HARRIS.

I thank you, Mr. Justice Day, and your associates of the McKinley National Memorial Association for the very great honor that you have conferred on me in inviting me to preside over the exercises of this memorable dedication. It is indeed an honor to present at any time to any audience the President of the United States. But on this occasion when we are assembled

to reverence the memory of another President of the United States, one who had long been the idol of our state before he became president, it is impossible for me to give due expression to my appreciation of such manifold honor at your hands.

It is a distinction worthy of any ambition to have been preceded on the program of this day by one of the most eminent jurists of the highest court on earth and by one of the men in whom the lamented McKinley had the most unbounded confidence. Added to that most honorable association is that which follows in the course of these historic exercises in being called upon to present to you the worthy successor of our beloved McKinley.



McKINLEY STATUE.

It was my fortune to have been associated with McKinley in state affairs as it was that of Justice Day as a neighbor, of President Roosevelt in national affairs, and of other members of the McKinley Memorial Association in other capacities. All who knew him loved and admired him. He was worthy of their fullest confidence and equal to any emergency in either private or public life.

I am not here to speak of him as a devoted husband, a sincere Christian, a faithful student, a loyal citizen, a brave soldier, a true gentleman, or a comprehensive statesman. That is the mission of one who is worthy of the great subject and equal to it in all that can be said of Wm. McKinley. As we are to hear from one of the most distinguished sons of New York about our illustrious son of Ohio, I wish to point briefly to presidents from these two great commonwealths, to those men of Ohio and of New York who planted still higher the standard that had been

upheld by those noble Americans in the succession from Washington to Lincoln.

Almost forty years ago, a native of Ohio, General Ulysses S. Grant, became president of the United States. Two days hence the state officers and others from different parts of Ohio will participate in the dedication of a tablet that is to mark the birthplace of that hero of the Civil War in Clermont county, Ohio. General Grant's last residence was in New York and his tomb there will forever be the Mecca of the Metropolis.

Ever since the inauguration of Grant the destinies of this nation have been in the hands of rulers from one or the other of



Lunette for the McKinley Mausoleum.

the great states of Ohio and New York. The administrations of Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison, McKinley and Roosevelt cover one-third of the period of our history as a nation.

Of the eight presidents in that period five were natives of Ohio, and they had all been soldiers in the Civil War. They were the only Civil War veterans who reached the presidency. The last in that eminent line of Union soldiers to be honored with the highest office in the gift of the people was McKinley, one of the purest and noblest Americans of them all. McKinley had been a pupil of Grant, Hayes, Garfield and Harrison in war

and in peace, and he added fresh laurels to the crowns of his elder comrades.

In the alternation between Ohio and New York during the past four decades, none have contributed more to the honor and the glory of their country, to the prosperity and the welfare of the people than the last two in the presidential succession. It is therefore eminently fitting that the great defender of popular rights, who took up the work, when McKinley was stopped by the hand of the assassin, should be the one on this sacred occasion to speak of the life and service of the martyred president.



SAMUEL FURMAN HUNT.

CHARLES W. HOFFMAN.

Under the dome of the church of St. Paul in London lies its builder, the great Christopher Wren, on his tomb is the modest inscription: "Reader if you seek his monument look around."



SAMUEL F. HUNT.

The memory of Hunt will not be perpetuated like that of Wren in magnificent buildings beautiful in architecture and symmetrical in their proportions, but it will endure for generations in that temple of respect and affection, intangible yet real, that he erected in the hearts of the people of the Miami Valley, and, more particularly the people of Springdale.

If you seek the monument of Judge Hunt search not in the quiet graveyard but inquire of the residents of this little town, those among he loved to live, those to whom he loved to speak, those to whom he loved to return fresh from his triumphs in the fields of law and of letters.

He lies in yonder church-yard 'neath the earth on the site of the foundation of the first church in the Miami Valley.

Down in the cemetery all is silent save the sighing of the wind through the trees that flourish near his grave. A stranger passing that way will some day read on a monument that Samuel Furman Hunt lies buried there, but neither the voice of the wind nor the name chiseled in stone will reveal to him that he who lies in that "narrow cell" was, in life, a man of so cultivated, so refined and so loving a temperament that every one in the community in which he lived loved and respected him.

There are some things in regard to Judge Hunt that history or the written narrative will not reveal. These will be communicated only by means of the spoken word. Through the medium of his public addresses, we have learned the true life

and character of the fathers in Israel who now sleep in yonder historic burying ground. It is fitting that we should assemble this evening and speak of Judge Hunt even as he was wont to speak of them.

The residents of Springdale and vicinity have had, during many years past, a privilege that rarely happens in the lives of the great majority of men, — that of coming consciously into the presence of "that extraordinary miracle we call genius."

There are many men in the world who are possessed of genius of one kind or another, but they are cold, patronizing, and repellent when they mingle with their fellow men; they are never popular with the masses, and their genius is not comprehended even by their immediate friends. Judge Hunt was affable, kind and sympathetic and his genius was idolized by all who knew him.

Among the many men eminent in scholarship and moral and spiritual attainment, who have lived here, it may be conceded that in the vividness of personal impression which he produced on all who came into his presence, — as well as in oratory, — Judge Hunt stands first. The citizens of Springdale, his neighbors, honored him because in his brilliant scholarship was reflected all that was best in their own life and that of their ancestors. Contrary to a familiar saying, he was a prophet in his own land. His genius was so pervasive that there are but few homes in the Miami Valley in which its refining and ennobling influence has not been felt and acknowledged.

It has been said that no man ever reaches the heights of true greatness unless he is familiarly known by his first name.

It was therefore no evidence of a spirit of disrespect but rather a potential acknowledgment of his greatness that the accomplished graduate of the University, the cultured orator to whose name were added high sounding degrees, the presiding officer of the senate, the general, the judge, was known to the people of Springdale and vicinity as Sam Hunt. They realized that by him their town was made noted; they gloried in his achievements, they placed laurels upon his brow, idolized him in their affections, and always addressed him familiarly in words of deep appreciation.

It is clearly apparent that in the composition as well as the delivery of his speeches Judge Hunt's inspiration was derived largely from local sources.

The combats of the pioneers of this locality with the Indians in the early days of the last century, the peculiar religious and physical phenomena incident to the Kentucky revival and the New Light movement, the sturdy puritanical character of those who in early as well as later days worshiped in this mountain, the wild free life of the old town of Springfield which found its best expression in Turner's and other taverns when filled at night with drivers and drovers and travellers journeying by stage from Cincinnati to northern points, the hills, the meadows and the streams of the surrounding community usually associated with some historic event, undoubtedly made a deep impression on his mind. His ardent and warm imagination easily and naturally furnished the connecting links in the narrative of the life of Springfield in days long past. It was probably an inspiration to him to feel that he too was in some measure adding to the fame of a town, insignificant it is true in population and territory but renowned beyond any other of equal proportions for the number of men it had produced who became eminent in the world's affairs.

It was the half-true half-legendary episodes in the history of New England towns that played on the fancy of Hawthorne and produced *Twice Told Tales* and *The Scarlet Letter*. It was the traditionary exploits of Hendrick Hudson and his crew in the Catskills that fired the imagination of Irving and produced *Rip Van Winkle*. It was the stories of the Mother Church and the struggles of the pioneers in this valley that stirred the genius of Hunt in his youth and eventually produced orations that commanded the applause of multitudes.

The colonial writers thought that America afforded no subject worthy of their art; they drew upon England for subject, style and inspiration, in consequence of which they were narrow and provincial and their works are now but literary curiosities.

Judge Hunt found subjects worthy of his art in his own immediate locality, yet he was not provincial nor imitative. Through the medium of incidents in the history of Springdale,

of Springfield Township and of the Old Church he expressed thoughts and sentiments that were national and universal. The distinguishing characteristic of his genius was that in the discussion of local themes he could express sentiments that found their response in the hearts of all men.

When he spoke of the Mother Church or the Campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair and Wayne, his listeners were interested whether they were residents of Springdale, of Boston or of New York.

He loved the Springdale Church and it was in this house that the speeches which appealed most strongly to his immediate friends and neighbors were delivered. How frequently have we seen him stand in this place and looking toward the village graveyard, recount in eloquent phrase the life work of the fathers in Israel who are buried there. It may be that he then thought of that day when he, too, would rest there, and, with the eyes of faith peering through the dim mist of the unknown, he may have beheld in fancy some of the glories of the eternal kingdom.

He was the intimate and steadfast friend of Dr. William H. James, that great and good man whose benedictions linger over this community.

Dr. James at the celebration of the Centennial of the Church organization said that Judge Hunt had always been a friend of the pastor and the church, and, "had been most constant in his support and in his encouragement of the good influences that had gone out from this place." Judge Hunt in responding to the kind words of Dr. James alluded to the historic associations of the place and the tender memories of home, of boyhood and family and said that they filled him with emotions he could scarcely suppress. On the same occasion Judge Hunt closed his address summing up the work of this church in these words:

"The Sabbath call has been ringing out on the morning and evening air for every ear willing to hear the Word of Life for one hundred years. There has never been any recognition of rank or title in those who loved the prosperity of Zion. This people indeed has loved the Gates of Zion more than all the

dwelling of Jacob. Eternity alone can measure its influences for good. It has exerted a lasting power. Civil liberty is the outgrowth of morality. Freedom of conscience comes from education. Righteousness alone can exalt the Nation."

If there is one lesson above all others that the life of Judge Hunt conveys to us, it is to be found in his spirit of optimism and hope and good will to all men.

He had none of the rugged sternness of Cotton Mather or Jonathan Edwards. Like them he believed in God, but his was the God of love, of mercy, and of infinite compassion and not the God "that abhors and is dreadfully provoked."

The spirit of darkness, of gloom and despair found no place in his creed, but light, joyousness and hope were always present. His mind dwelt in that realm where the melodies of the birds are always heard, and the flowers never cease to bloom; where the fingers of kindly invisible spirits play on the heart strings and lull the soul into blissful sleep. It was his refined temperament keenly sensitive to the beautiful in nature and art, and his sympathetic identification with the people of the rural hamlet of Springdale that gave him the gift of catching bright fragments of sentiment from common place affairs of men and of weaving them into a rich tapestry of words. Along the pathway of life that he trod flowers of perennial beauty grew; above him the skies were always fair.

When the hour came for him to die, his rapt and parting soul familiar through life as it had been with the beauty and sublimity of this terrestrial world, perceived in a measure the glory of the celestial kingdom, and in a spirit of exaltation and love for those of his kindred who had gone before and for those who remained he said, "I am going over the sunny hills to meet my mother."

When we think of that region of sunshine in which his soul lived and of his state of mind when passing through the sunset gates of life we are reminded of the words of the Apostle: "O, death where is thy sting? O, grave where is thy victory?"

Glendale, O.

THE MORGAN RAID IN OHIO.

R. W. MCFARLAND.

In the article under the above heading, published in the January number, there are several errors which ought not to pass unnoticed. The paragraph to which reference is made, is as follows, viz.: "The Ohio Raid practically ended at Buffington Island, although Morgan himself was not captured there, but with a small portion of his men escaped and fled to Lake Erie, being captured at New Lisbon in Columbiana county, Ohio, within one day's ride of Lake Erie." Morgan was not captured at New Lisbon, but six or eight miles further south, at Salineville. From this village it is about a hundred miles to Lake Erie. Exhausted cavalymen are not likely to travel a hundred miles a day. Further, Morgan was not making for Lake Erie, but for the Ohio River. And still further: The "small portion of his men, numbered about nine hundred, according to Reid's 'Ohio in the War.'"

See Howe's History of Ohio, Vol. 1, p. 457: "After the battle, Morgan with not quite 1,200 men escaped. . . . Twenty miles above Buffington he struck the river again, got 300 of his men across, when the approaching gunboats checked the passage. Returning to the 900 still on the Ohio side, he once more resumed his hurried flight. His men were worn down and exhausted by enormous work. When foiled in the attempted crossing above, he headed for the Muskingum. Foiled here by the militia under Runkle, he doubled on his track, and turned again towards Blennerhassett's Island. The clouds of dust which marked his track betrayed his movement, and on three sides the pursuers closed in on him.

"While they slept in peaceful expectation of receiving his surrender in the morning, he stole out along a hillside that had been thought impassable, his men walking in single file and leading their horses, and by midnight he was once more out of

the toils, marching hard to outstrip his pursuers. At last he found an unguarded crossing of the Muskingum, at Eaglesport, above McConnelsville, and then with an open country before him, struck out once more for the Ohio."

The writer of this article confronted Morgan at Eaglesport, and was in the chase till the final surrender at Salineville. It may be well to explain the part taken by my regiment in the pursuit of Morgan. When this bold raider entered Ohio, the 86th regiment was in process of formation at Cleveland. Five or six companies had been completed, and there were men enough in camp to finish the enrollment, but every squad of 25 or 30 men had at least one person who sought to become an officer. But there were more aspirants than there were offices to fill, so the consolidation moved slowly. Gov. Tod knew the condition of affairs in the camp, and telegraphed to the effect that if the several squads should not voluntarily combine into companies that same day, he would on the next day order a consolidation to be directed by outside officers. The regiment being completed we were sent immediately to Zanesville, to give aid in heading off Morgan. Four companies were put under my charge, and we were placed on board a steamboat, and ordered to stop at Eaglesport, and prevent Morgan from crossing. The time now was 2 o'clock at night, and as I caused the gangway plank to be taken aboard, I heard the clatter of a galloping horse. Thinking that there might be further orders, I waited a moment. The rider came up and said he was told to tell me to wait for further orders. There was thus a delay of two hours, and this delay caused the failure of the attempt to prevent Morgan's crossing, for when the boat came in sight of Eaglesport, the last of Morgan's men were on the ferry boat crossing the river. Landing on the east bank a half a mile from the village, we made haste to occupy the crest of the second range of hills, with the intent of holding Morgan in check until his pursuers should come up. He was so held for an hour or more; but divining my object, he made vigorous efforts to escape; and by dividing his troops into two parts, he sought to divide my forces. I thought it best to keep my men together, and so we headed off the one part which was proceeding up the river. It faced about

and disappeared down the river in a hurried flight. But soon being met by a regiment of militia marching northward, he again turned north, but bearing away to the northeast. Clouds of dust showed where he was, and aided my troops in their pursuit. In about two miles we came to the road on which Morgan was retreating. The soldiers at the front of the column were able to give Morgan one volley at long range. No one was hurt but some of the raiders dropped a part of their plunder. We picked up a bolt or two of calico and also a bolt of muslin. On the west side of the road, and about a hundred yards distant, there was a small frame house on the face of the hill. The woman living there was on the porch at the east side of the house, watching Morgan's men as they passed along the road. One of the soldiers shot at her as she was leaning against a post. The bullet hit the post about a foot above her head, and half buried itself in the hard wood. This outrage occurred about the time when my men discharged their guns at long range. I saw the mark of the bullet, and gave the woman the dry goods which we had picked up in the road — to offset as far as possible the fright which she had suffered.

Early in the morning, only an hour or so after my troops had landed, there occurred the following incident, which probably gave Morgan an exaggerated estimate of the number of my men. While waiting for developments, I saw two cavalrymen approaching my position. They were in the woods, a couple of hundred yards distant, but proceeding very cautiously. They were attempting to make some reliable estimate of our numbers. I called on the half dozen soldiers who were closest to me, "to shoot those spies." The guns rang out in an instant, but the soldiers further away from my position, knowing nothing of the facts, all fired their guns also, but fired at random. The roar of these 350 rifles was grand; and as we were concealed by the timber, our numbers were likely overestimated.

Within two or three hours after Morgan's departure, the advance columns of the pursuers came up, and inquired after the fugitives. The maneuvers of the morning being ended, I returned to Zanesville; there the four companies were put on cars, and started east with the object of preventing Morgan

from crossing the railroad to the south—he had reached the National Road not far eastward from Cambridge. The train carrying my men was divided into two sections and ordered to move in easy supporting distance of each other. We were near Bellaire when Morgan surrendered. Morgan and nineteen other officers were put aboard of one train and sent forward to Columbus. The men were put on another. On my return westward, I fell in with the train carrying the body of Morgan's men, as that train reached Zanesville. In each car carrying Confederate soldiers only two or three guards had been put; deeming such guard insufficient, I took charge of the train and took it to Columbus. Being formed in line for the march to Camp Chase, I counted the prisoners, 565. They marched between lines of Union soldiers to the camp, and there they were counted again,—the same number. In the first volume of Howe's History of Ohio, there is a very full account of the operations against Morgan at the time of his surrender. Thus it is easily seen that the truth of history demanded some correction of the statements which are herein criticised. And having personal knowledge of the case, I have given this brief outline of the facts, but many interesting incidents have been omitted.



THE COMING AND GOING OF OHIO DROVING.

REV. I. F. KING, D. D.

[Mr. King about the year 1850 took three droves, two of cattle and one of sheep across the Allegheny mountains. In doing this he walked from Zanesville, Ohio, to eastern Pennsylvania five times. On one trip he came home by public conveyance. In 1851 the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was only finished to Clarksburg, West Virginia. This article is an interesting description of a phase of the business life in the early half of the past century. — EDITOR.]

America having been discovered by Europeans, it was natural that emigrants should first settle up the territory on our Atlantic seaboard. The cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore were the first to have a population numbered by the hundreds of thousands. The states adjacent to these cities were the first in the Union to develop their resources. As these eastern cities grew, the greater was the demand for meat. Fresh meat, being very toothsome, the call for it became more general.

Soon the value of land on the Atlantic slope became higher and the price of grain went up and consequently meats became more costly.

At that time the forests of Ohio were being cleared and the rich primitive soil began to yield corn at the rate, some times, of one hundred bushels per acre. Then the only easily reached market for large lots of corn was New Orleans. To send cargoes to that city on flat boats was a tedious process. The Ohio farmer, learning of the demand for meat in the eastern cities, naturally turned his attention to stock raising. Mr. George Renick, of Ross county, was the first to improve the breed of cattle in the state, by getting an English stock from Mr. Patton, of Kentucky. Mr. Samuel Lutz, of Pickaway county, in the year 1822, was the first to drive a large herd of fat cattle to Baltimore market. Some years after this Mr. George Renick, of Ross county, began to take stock afoot from Ohio to New

York City. Naturally he followed the Zane trace to Wheeling, West Virginia. This occurred in 1833. In a few years droving became general.

One Daniel Drew, a tavernkeeper in New York, established himself at Bull's Head to give entertainment to drovers. His hostelry and stock yards became quite popular to these merchants of the West. Mr. Drew made a fortune, and being a Methodist he, at the close of his life, gave \$500,000.00 to endow Drew Theological Seminary, now located at Madison, New Jersey.

Mr. Felix Renick, of Chillicothe, conceived the idea of stated stock sales in that city, which began October 26th, 1835. These continued for many years, and greatly aided in disseminating throughout the state, the best breeds of cattle. In 1856 the stock raisers of Madison county began monthly stock sales in London which continue to the present day.

The transporting of cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs, (indeed in some cases turkeys) in droves from Ohio and quite a number of other states, even as far west as Missouri, continued until the lines of railroads were ready for use, connecting with the eastern cities.

In the settlement of Ohio there was such an abundance of timber that fences were inexpensive and we had in the state so little prairie, that in stock raising, we did not need herdsmen as was needed in the following years in states farther west, so neither the Ohio drover nor his employe was ever known by the term "cow boy."

There were two grades of cattle driven across the mountains. Three year old steers called "stock cattle" were taken on foot to eastern Pennsylvania, where farmers bought them and "fed them out." And four year old bullocks, well fattened, were also carefully driven from this state and usually sold at stock yards in eastern cities.

From Ohio to the eastern cities there were three principal routes. The northern route was by way of Dunkirk, New York State. From Dunkirk on to the eastern market, at an earlier date than which characterized any of the other routes, the driv-

ing ceased and shipment was made to the coast by rail and I think to some extent by canal.

Another route was that which crossed the Ohio river—by ferry—at Wellsville, and thence to Philadelphia by way of Pittsburg. Soon after railroads were built west to Pittsburg, it became a terminus for much of the stock which came in from the West, and finally this city became a great live stock market.

The more southern route was through Zanesville, O., Wheeling or Moundsville, Va., and thence on either through Bedford, Pa., to Philadelphia, or through Cumberland, Md., to Baltimore. It will be observed that these three routes are now substantially those of the New York Central, the Pennsylvania and the Baltimore and Ohio railroad lines to the East.

During the summer and autumn, along these lines of travel, so many drovers passed that an observer, a mile or more away, could know of the passing of stock, for far up in the air he could see long moving lines of rising dust. In the winter and early spring the clay pikes became almost impassable because of the depth of the mud. And worse than that, cattle naturally walk abreast of each other, and soldier-like they put their feet in the tracks of the one in front, and in this way great trenches were made across the highway, which when the clay dried became almost impassable for carriages and other vehicles. The condition of these roads in March and April was worse than that of the roughest "corduroy bridges" we have ever encountered. These "cattle billows" were not confined to the low lands but went over crag as well as fen. The people whose homes were located along "the drove roads" bore patiently these discomforts, for they wished for a market for their stock and a means of selling, at home, their grain, hay and pasture.

Along the "drove roads" soon were established "drove stands." Some of these were inns, but more frequently, they were large farm houses where drovers obtained lodging and board as well as provisions for the stock they were transporting. During the thirty years, beginning with 1822, when Ohio droving began, it was a common thing for corn to sell for twenty-five cents per bushel or for thirty-seven and a half cents per shock. In that period cattle usually could be bought in the

autumn for two or three cents per pound, gross weight, and hogs only a little above these figures. A good fat sheep could be bought for one dollar and a quarter, and choice ones at two dollars.

The owner or conductor of the drove was known as "the boss." These men, even on their second trip across the mountains, became familiar with all the drove stands. And in their minds these were all graded. No man along the southern route had such a good reputation as Mr. Ezekiel Bundy, whose farm house stood a few miles east of Barnesville, Ohio. He set the best table and furnished the best beds to sleep in, of any of them, and his bills were not higher than those whose accommodations were much inferior. Mr. Rex, whose home was near Jefferson, Pa., was a favorite place to stop over the Sabbath.

Seldom were there less than one hundred cattle in a drove, and not often much over two hundred in the largest droves. When fat cattle were driven, it was not unusual to have the drove accompanied with as many or even more stock hogs. In such cases the hogs cost little in the way of grain, for they consumed the corn that the cattle wasted. When hogs were taken with cattle the journey took about a week longer. Drove of horses would average twenty-two miles per day, stock cattle nine miles, fat cattle seven, and cattle with hogs not quite so many miles per day. The crew to take care of a drove of cattle consisted of a boss who rode on horseback seated on a pair of saddle-bags which contained a change of linen for himself and the men who were afoot. On his saddle pad was a roll of extra garments, for use by the crew in stormy weather. Of course he was armed with a good "black snake" whip. In large droves, a second man was also mounted in the same manner as the boss. He too, had in his hand a Centerville whip. A harnessmaker in a little Ohio village called Centerville, in Belmont county, was known to all southern route drovers to make the best whips and sell them at reasonable prices. These whips had linen or silken crackers and when used by a man who knew how, would make a report like the firing of a rifle. This extra man on horseback was needed to keep the stock in place when passing through forests, and when the drove passed intersecting roads

and streets. With cattle there was a man on foot leading an ox by a rope, attached to his horns. For the reader will please note, that the art of dehorning was not then in vogue. Not one steer in fifty was a mulley. Soon after going on the road the other bullocks learned to follow the lead ox.

In the rear of the drove, another man, usually afoot, armed also with a whip, which was well used on belated and lazy steers.

At the luncheon hour the whole drove was halted in some well shaded lot, where perhaps every bullock rested by lying down, and happy was the crew that by any means could supply itself with a luncheon. While the cattle were thus resting, it was the custom for the boss to ride rapidly ahead and make arrangements for pasture and food for man and beast during the night.

Drove hands, in those days, received fifteen dollars per month. And having reached the market they usually walked home again. It was a rule to allow 33 miles as a day's task. Some swift walkers were able to make an average of forty miles per day. And in this way, in five days he made an extra half dollar, plus another fifty cent piece which he was allowed for a day's meals and lodging. These men traversed the same road home that was used in going East, so as to settle for stock left accidentally in the field, or that was left because it became lame or sick. The men who kept drove stands could be relied upon to care well for such stock and in the end to pay a fair price for such as were accidentally left.

It often occurred that in passing over macadamized roads, and indeed over other roads which were rocky, that the bullocks feet became tender, and soon the animal became lame, and shoeing was a necessity. Along such highways were located blacksmiths who had stalls and machinery to lift the steer off his feet, so he could be shod and thus prepared to finish the journey.

At that period bridge tolls and ferry fees were high. For this reason, and because in many cases there were no bridges, it was not unusual in crossing the large rivers to put the lead ox and some ten more bullocks on a ferry boat, and these be-

came leaders, and the balance of the drove by a little coercing were made to follow by swimming the river.

In seasons of the year when it was necessary to feed corn it was the custom to use that which was in the shock, throw it on a wagon, and go to the feed lot and while the wagon was moving toss off the corn until the wagon was empty. When the corn was in the ear, men with scoop shovels threw off, while the wagon was moving. This required no little skill and trained muscle.

We have already stated that the price paid the stock raiser was low, but the drover did not always make money, for it took some forty or fifty days to reach the market, and in that time there might be great fluctuation. To wait in the East for a better market was to be at no little expense, for grain and pasture then in the East was much higher in price than in Ohio.

It was not uncommon for the drover to be met by speculators some three or four days' journey from the market. These were men who were good judges of stock and they knew well how the market was supplied and how prices ruled. To a great extent they had the advantage of the drover, who did not have access to a daily market report, only as he might interview returning drovers.

These speculators made money more rapidly and surely than the drover. At the same time the Ohio drover usually made money. Often his profit was a handsome sum, and the result of other trips was a great loss. That it was mostly a lucrative business will be manifest when we remember that Michael Sullivant, of Franklin county, Wesley Claypool and Andrew Peters, of Fairfield county, John Boggs and R. R. Seymour, of Ross county, and Isaac Funk, of Madison county, were engaged in this business. It would be difficult to find six men who lived contemporaneously and were engaged in other callings who excelled them in accumulating handsome fortunes.

The last named man, Mr. Isaac Funk, began business on farms in the southern part of Madison county, and in the early forties sold his Ohio possessions and removed to McLean county, Illinois, where he purchased a vast acreage and bought

and bred cattle by the thousands. His death occurred in 1865. Before his demise he was known as "The Cattle King."

These cattle feeders were so prodigal in the use of grain in their field lots, that wild pigeons by the hundred thousand came as gleaners. These birds had their roosts in the low lands, such as that now covered by the Buckeye Lake. Nets were laid and traps set for them, and they were caught by the thousands and sold, sometimes so low as six cents per dozen.

The names of some men who spent the best of their days as live stock raisers and drovers in this state are as follows: William Williams and Stephen Cunningham of Perry county, Jedediah Allen of Fairfield county, William Renick of Pickaway county, A. Renick, Mack Baker and James Caldwell of Ross county, and Mr. John F. Chenowith of Madison county, were among those who earned comfortable fortunes in this business. Now in the state there are but a few large herds and when they are ready for market, they are taken to the nearest railroad station and shipped East in car-load lots. Even a greater change than this has taken place, cities 500 miles west of Ohio are leaders in the live stock market. To such cities as Chicago and Kansas City the railroads bring in the most of the live stock raised in our country, and there it is slaughtered and put in cold storage, where it is kept, and at the pleasure of the merchant it is shipped in refrigerator cars to the best market.

From our brief recital, it will be seen that business men in our state who were in their prime in the early fifties saw the coming and going of Ohio droving. And now in the early part of the twentieth century there are some old citizens whose memory encompasses the same interesting period in the history of the state.

Columbus, Ohio.

GENERAL MASON AND HIS LETTER ON RAILROADS.

B. F. PRINCE.

Almost every community of considerable size and age has furnished one or more characters who have been prominent for a life and acts that were for the good of that special locality, and often for the state or nation at large. One who stood in this threefold relation was Hon. Samson Mason, of Springfield, Ohio.

Mr. Mason was born in the state of New York in 1793. He attended the public schools of the day, served in the War of 1812 and at its close entered upon the study of law. With a certificate in hand indicating that he had spent the required time in such study under the direction of a lawyer, he came to Cleveland, Ohio, in 1818, thence to Steubenville, thence to Zanesville and Chillicothe. The Supreme Court of Ohio was in session in the latter place. Young Mason presented himself before that court for admission to the practice of law in this state. But none of the Judges of the Court nor any of the lawyers present had ever heard of his instructor, Mr. Thaddeus Wood, the name of the the attorney affixed to his certificate. No one knew that such a person existed, so nothing could be done toward his admission. Neither was there a man in the state who knew Mr. Mason, and who might testify in his behalf. It was finally suggested to him that there might be one man, Caleb Atwater, Esq., who possibly knew Mr. Wood, Mason's instructor. Mr. Atwater lived at Circleville, many miles away. Young Mason at once rode to Circleville, called upon Mr. Atwater and told him his dilemma. Mr. Atwater heard his story, sympathized with the young man, and though there was a fierce winter storm raging, he went back with him, stated to the Court that he knew Mr. Wood and testified as to the credibility of the signature on Mason's certificate.

In the latter part of 1818 Attorney Mason, now fully authorized to perform the duties of a barrister, came to Spring-

field and selected it as the place where in future he should practice law. His first case was in the court of a Justice of the Peace, in the conduct of which he showed such skill and ability in meeting an old practitioner and putting him to rout that his future success was assured.

In 1823 Mr. Mason was elected to the lower house of the State Legislature, and after serving several terms in that body, he was elected to the Senate. The confidence of his fellow-members in his ability as a law-maker was shown by his appointment in 1830 to the chairmanship of a committee to revise the laws of the State of Ohio.

In 1834 Mr. Mason was elected to Congress, in which body he served for four consecutive terms. For the last term he was nominated and elected against his wish, preferring to remain in his legal practice and among his congenial friends and neighbors. Wherever he appeared in public, whether at the bar, in Congress, or on the hustings, he showed himself a clear thinker and strong speaker. Hon. Calvin Morris, who served with him in Congress, says of him: "No man was more feared or respected in debate in Congress than General Mason." Another says of him: "He had a wonderfully clear vision and foresight, and his mind was well stored with fact and principles and legal lore. Few men of his time were equal to him in the degree and extent of his culture." At the bar, it is said by those who *knew* him, when aroused he spoke with much eloquence and carried everything before him, rarely losing a case into which he put his mind and heart. His practice before the court was extensive. For many years he was employed in almost every important case in six counties.

Under President Fillmore Mr. Mason held the office of United States District Attorney for Ohio. In 1850 he sat as the member from Clark County in the State Constitutional Convention, for which position his eminent qualities well fitted him. He so well understood the meaning of the clause that there should only be biennial sessions of the Legislature, that when elected to the State Senate in 1861, a time when there was needed clear headed and loyal men, he resigned his position as Senator the next year, because of the decision of the Legislature to violate this

provision by adjourning to hold a second session of the same Legislature in January, 1863. His mind revolted at any attempt to violate what he considered a plain provision of the Constitution.

In politics Mr. Mason was allied with the Whig party. When it dissolved, he transferred his allegiance and enthusiasm to the new Republican party, and his service in its behalf aided greatly in the political campaign that placed Hon. Salmon P. Chase in the Governor's chair in Ohio in 1856.

In the days of the old militia laws of Ohio, Mr. Mason was an influential factor. He held successively the rank of Captain, Colonel, Brigadier General, and Major General. His trim figure and neat dress and courtly manners harmonized well with his rank as a military officer, while his precise way of doing everything made him an efficient disciplinarian.

When General Mason was nearly fifty years old, he became a member of the Presbyterian Church and was ever after a leading factor in the organization to which he belonged. He was devoted to its interests, because it was his nature to do nothing by halves. When beyond three score years and ten, he was still faithful in his attendance at his place of worship. His last illness came upon him at the church, from which he was carried home to die.

In every public gathering, religious, educational, moral, or patriotic, that took place in the city of his residence, he was an important factor, ready with voice and influence to speak for what he thought was right and honorable.

Few men from 1830 to 1840 could foresee the great revolution that would be effected by the introduction of railroads into this country. By many it was believed that such roads would be a menace to public welfare and so should receive no countenance from those who had the public interests at heart. In this number was included Mr. Mason, as the subjoined letter written by him in 1836 shows. But he lived long enough to change his views, and no man appreciated and welcomed more the advantages which the railroads brought to the people, than he in the later years of his life.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 6, 1836.

DEAR CUSH :—The Committee on Roads and Canals has come to a decision in favor of a change of the [National] road from Springfield to Richmond, according to the prayers of the petitioners. The report will come in in a few days. I understand Vinton will make the report. Gen'l. C. F. Mercer, the chairman, was opposed to the change. This is a sorry business. It will give me a great deal of trouble. I availed myself of the permission of the committee to lay before it a written argument against the change. I shall give the friends of this measure considerable trouble before they are done with it. But no one can predict the result. A report in favor of the change is very much against us of course. The same committee has, under consideration, the project of substituting a railway for the present road from Columbus to the Mississippi. Gen'l. Mercer and Vinton, of the Committee, and how many more I know not, are in favor of it. I understand the same subject is before a committee of our Legislature. There is great danger, in my opinion, that the road will be overlaid by one scheme after another. I am opposed to all these experiments, and as a railroad in lieu of the present McAdamized road I have no idea that it will answer the purpose at all. No one can travel on horseback or in a carriage of any description on a railroad, no matter how wide it may be, nor how finished. The steam engines and cars would scare any animal and drive it out of sight. Could you drive live stock on such a road? No; not within a half mile of it. The few that might escape being slaughtered by the engine in its passage through the drove would be frightened and driven into the woods, where they would not be heard from again that season. A new road would have to be opened, immediately, to accommodate the people on the line. They could not get to market nor go anywhere else in the direction of the road. Besides, how is it to be kept up? Who is to superintend it? How long must people wait at the point where the cars start, after they arrive there and are ready to pursue their journey? Would not the whole affair soon become a monopoly in the hands of a few enterprising capitalists? Is not the whole scheme wild and visionary? The

United States will not make this road if the States refuse to take it after it is finished. The State of Ohio cannot therefore proceed too cautiously in this business — the untried experiment. In connection with this project, it is said, there is great danger that the States will suffer the present [National] road to get out of repair, and by neglecting it a short time, it will soon fall into decay, so that the resources of the State will be inadequate to put it again into complete repair. It is said by those who have recently traveled on the road from Zanesville to Wheeling, that the road between those points is greatly injured, and now needs very considerable repairs. I hope the Legislature will not permit this. Will you not amend the law so as to increase the tolls. There are too many exemptions, that the road should not be suffered to dilapidate. It would be wanton negligence in the Legislature. The Superintendent is a poor devil, I am told. We want a board of public works with a man just as vigorous and unpopular as Kelly at the head of it. It is a great while since I had the comfort of a line from you. We have no news here. Since Great Britain has undertaken to settle the difficulty between Gen'l. Jackson and his cousin, the King of the French, we shall be cheated out of war and the majority in the Ohio Legislature will have nothing to do but attend to domestic affairs. Still, we shall be urged to make large appropriations for national defence, and the next fall elections.

Yours with esteem,

S. MASON.



THE WESTERNIZATION OF NEW ENGLAND.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL. D.

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“Macbeth shall never vanquish’d be until
Great Birnam wood to high Dunsinane hill
Shall come against him.”

So spake the dread prophetess to Macbeth; so might have spoken the seers of New England, when, a century ago, they saw the beginnings of rival commonwealths across the mountains. For the New England of 1806 was still a close and separate community, proud of its history, exulting in its vigor, abounding in wealth above its neighbors, strong in traditional public spirit, imbued with a sense of its superiority to the rest of the Union, and rejoicing in the colonies which it had planted in the wilderness, to be centers of New England influence in the West. Such occasions as this today give an opportunity to review the influence of the East upon the West; to follow the New Englanders all the way across New York and Pennsylvania, and plant them on the banks of the Ohio, or of Lake Erie. A few years ago, on an historical occasion of moment in Wisconsin, a very eminent New Englander, the descendant of two presidents, informed the audience before him that he was probably the only person present who was aware that the site of Madison had once been claimed as a part of the territory of Massachusetts. If I were to suggest today that the Ohio Company, organized in Massachusetts, founded, named, built and

made famous the city of Marietta, you would feel the same kind of astonishment as that audience. You might go farther, you might ask whether the Puritan fathers were to have no rest; must they not only create their own immortal rôle upon the world's stage, but appear before the curtain whenever the words "New England" are heard? Why not leave them out today? Why not assume for once that the religious, social and political influence of New England is still going on its way spreading ever wider,—

"Out there on the Archipelago,
In the region of the Horn,
Somewhere in the locks of the Equinox
And the Tropic of Capricorn."

Twenty years ago, when the English historian, Edward Freeman, came over to lecture in America, he painfully evolved the phrase "New England and Old England," which seemed to him to embody the novel historical truth that the old region preceded and accounted for the new. Perhaps he was unaware that during the English Commonwealth in Cromwell's time, people had much to say about "The New England Way," by which they meant principles of religious and political organization which had been proved in America, and could be put into operation in the mother country. There is also a Western Way, an Ohio Idea, if we can only find it, which has in like manner affected the hive from which swarmed the New England emigrants of 1788. And who could have a better opportunity to observe and record these subtle influences than one who is himself an eastward emigrant, a son of Ohio planted in Massachusetts? Not that I am too deeply planted! People say that in Magnolia Cemetery at Charleston, South Carolina, is a tombstone bearing the inscription, "Here lies the body of John Wilkins, who came to this place when six months old and died at the age of ninety-four. Although a comparative stranger in Charleston, Mr. Wilkins' last days were soothed by the attentions of the people of this city." Cambridge is more hospitable; after only thirty years in Cambridge, one sometimes begins to see prospects of no longer being a comparative stranger there. On the other hand, as in the case of the person down on

Cape Cod, who was said by her neighbors not to be a real Cape Cod woman, inasmuch as her mother was born in Plymouth, perhaps you will not accept as a proper representative of the Ohio Company of Associates, a Western Reserve Yankee, attendant on the shrine of the Connecticut Land Company. Today however, northern and southern Ohio may in common cause claim for themselves that their forefathers made New England; and that the present generation in the West is helping to re-make it.

INFLUENCE ON NEW ENGLAND PEOPLE.

In a state like Ohio, within whose limits in 1787 the only residents were wild Indians, the garrisons of military posts, and a few squatters, sullenly hiding themselves from the troops who ejected them whenever found, the elements of the original population were all external. Ohio drew in people as a dry sponge sucks in water; but within the first decade, a trickling stream of emigrants began to pass farther westward, till today more than a million born Buckeyes are a part of the population of other states and territories; of these about ten thousand are settled in New England; the state of Massachusetts has received over five thousand of them and has contributed only about seven thousand five hundred to the present population of this state. It is not for me to say how far the quality of these re-emigrants compares with that of the sturdy pioneers of 1788. No one can study the history of the Ohio Company without a strong feeling of admiration for the character and pluck of the first settlers, and of the thousands who followed them from New England. At both ends of the line, Rufus Putnam stands as one of the most admirable men of his time, realizing the dictum of Emerson: "A sturdy lad from New Hampshire or Vermont, who in turn tries all the professions, who *teams it, farms it, peddles*, keeps a school, preaches, edits a newspaper, goes to Congress, buys a township, and so forth, in successive years, and always, like a cat, falls on his feet, is worth a hundred of these city dolls. He walks abreast with his days, and feels no shame in 'not studying a profession,' for he does not postpone his life, but lives already." Never was there a broader or livelier spirit of enterprise, and I am proud to

be the husband of one of Rufus Putnam's kinsfolk, and to find in the list of Putnam's friends, who signed the petition in 1783, the name of John Hart, of Connecticut, from among my own kinsfolk.

When Major Denny visited the little colony in 1788, he recorded, "Those people appear the most happy folks in the world; greatly satisfied with their new purchase. But they certainly are the best informed, most courageous and civil strangers of any people I have yet met with." Not only were the fathers of the Ohio Company enterprising, they were far removed from the supposed New England austerity and reserve. Manasseh Cutler was treated with "A handsome dinner with punch and wine. The General and ladies from the garrison, very sociable." And the prototype of this gathering today appears to have been that described by Cutler on Sunday, August 24, 1788. "Cloudy this morning, and very muddy. Attended public worship in the hall in Campus Martius; the hall very full; had but one exercise. People came from the Virginia shore and from the garrison." The ladies, too, then as now, contributed to the charms of Marietta. The circumspect Rev. Manasseh Cutler thought "Mrs. McCurdy very agreeable," and "Miss Symmes a very well accomplished young lady." Another traveler regrets to reflect upon "Miss Symmes' amiable disposition and highly cultivated mind, about to be buried in the wilderness." The world of fashion even extended to the Indian belles, for Cutler writes of a stately squaw, Madame Zanes. "It is said that she had on three hundred brooches, and that her whole dress cost her five hundred dollars."

Yet, contrary perhaps to the general impression, the New Englanders, after a year or two, were probably never a majority of the people of Ohio. The settlers in the Symmes Purchase came from the Middle States; of the Virginia bounty lands, from the South. Outside of the Reserve and the Ohio Company, there are few distinctively New England centers in the state; and almost from the beginning, there were several elements of foreign birth. Denny found a number of Germans among the garrison of Fort Harmar, some of whom doubtless married and became the ancestors of some of you. The French of Gallipolis contributed a vivacious element. The Scotch-Irish spread from

Pennsylvania and Virginia and North Carolina into Southern and Central Ohio, and today, though by no means the most heterogeneous of the states, Ohio has over four hundred and sixty thousand foreigners, of whom about fifty thousand are Englishmen, sixty thousand Irishmen and over two hundred thousand Germans.

A like change may be traced in New England, which in 1787 had by far the purest strain of English blood in the New World; except for a few French Huguenots and stray Scotchmen, Irishmen and Dutchmen, the New Englanders were the direct descendants of the English emigration which came over between 1620 and 1640. But now, how different! Out of six million New Englanders, more than a million and a half were born outside the United States, and another million and a half born of foreign parents. Of the three million people in Massachusetts, nearly a million were born abroad, eight hundred thousand are of foreign parentage, and about four hundred thousand more are natives of other states, leaving only about eight hundred thousand Massachusetts people in Massachusetts. This foreign immigration to New England is of course not in any way the result of the similar influx into the West; but it brings upon New England exactly the problems which the Western people have to solve.

An important current of movement from West to East, which has no returning eddy is that of students of the higher learning. Universities, colleges, technical schools, professional schools, musical and art institutes, academies are fed constantly by supplies from the West. This applies not simply to the students, but to the teachers: there is hardly a college in the East which does not include within its faculty Western men, not only of its own graduation, but from Western institutions; one of the most efficient professors of Yale College is a graduate of Western Reserve, and formerly a professor in that institution; and within a few days Harvard University, in seeking for a Dean to organize and direct the new graduate school of applied science, chose a graduate of Ohio State University. Partly from these students who find careers in the East, partly from the return of the children of New Englanders, partly from direct emigration, the alumni of Western institutions begin to accumulate in numbers and in power in the New England cities; Oberlin College, Michi-

gan University, Western Reserve University have vigorous clubs in Boston. The numerous professional and business men in that city, who count the West to be their great Alma Mater, have called for the recent organization of a Western Club, which is to maintain sound principles in this center of intellectuality.

LANGUAGE.

The reason why so many Western people are found in the East is two-fold: First, they discover opportunities; and second, they are competent to improve them. Eastern men go West for precisely the same reason. It is significant that such an interchange should be established in the face of some local prejudice and preference in both sections. The truth is that the barrier is broken down; there is little distinction of appearance of manner between the Easterner and the man of the Middle West. I knew a professor of geology who went out to investigate a mine, and arranged himself in local raiment of slouch hat, rough clothes and trousers thrust into his boots. He was met by the proprietor of the mine, who had prepared himself to meet the stranger in his presumed native costume by putting on a black suit and a tall hat. Nor could they decide which was Lady and which was Tiger. The supposed Shibboleth of dialect was never determining and has now almost ceased to exist. I knew of an Eastern lady who, on meeting an Iowan, said to her: "You don't seem to talk like a Westerner, you talk very much as we do; but then, I have only known one Western person before I met you." "Yes, and where did she come from?" "She came from Baltimore."

Leaving aside such misapprehension, there is no Western dialect, and indeed, almost no New England dialect. Though I have spent twenty-five years of my life in New England, I have never heard the Yankee dialect of Lowell's *Biglow Papers*, or anything approaching it, except in the Western Reserve of Ohio, where my Uncle Gad, my Aunt Eunice, and my third cousin Lovicy "wanted to know" and "haouw you talked" to the heart's content. Never shall I forget Mrs. General Pierce's comment upon the wealthy friend who did not bring her sons up to do something useful. "I says to Mrs. Kimball, says I, haouw you air a missin' on't." Still Mrs. General Pierce was a New Hamp-

shire woman, who had brought with her the treasures of her own home language. I have married into a New Hampshire family, and thereby became conversant with similar expressions, which would hardly be found in the mouth of a born Westerner, such as: "Now do be a man or a mouse, or a long-tailed rat, with your pockets full of gold and silver," or, "He don't want it no more than a toad wants a tail, every bit and grain," or "Money enough and two dollars over," which is more than our millionaires appear to possess. I know when a person of uncertain temper looks "wapish" and when the indecisive person "wee waws" in his opinions. I have seen things "as nice as a cotton hat," and condoled with woes "which would make a bird shed tears." I am familiar with that unwillingness to make a positive assertion which takes refuge in the statement that a bankrupt "haint been any more successful in business than he expected to."

To balance these expressions with Western phrases of equal significance would be difficult, except perhaps the favorite Buckeye expression "Going to go." But though Noah Webster's dictionary was made in New Haven and Worcester's in Cambridge New England no longer has a monopoly of the American language. If we seek the exact spot where the mother tongue is spoken in the average form, would it not logically be found at the geographical center of population, which, as all the world knows, is near Columbus, Indiana? Certainly there is an American pronunciation of the English language which prevails with little alteration from the Hudson River westward to the Mississippi, and which from year to year undermines the more precise and perhaps accurate speech of the born New Englander.

New England place names reappear in widening circles — Bostons and New Bostons, Springfield, Massachusetts; Springfield, Ohio; Springfield, Illinois; Springfield, Missouri; Springfield, Kansas. In some of these cases, as for instance, Granville, Ohio, the new settlement was made by the emigration of a whole community, taking with it church, schools and town-meeting. This influence of nomenclature is hardly reciprocal, though future historians may perhaps inquire whether great statesmen like Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton and Trumbull were born in the Ohio counties which bear the same names; and whether by any

chance the parents of Marie Antoinette could have given her that pleasant name because they had been settlers in the French colony near the agreeable town of Marietta.

EDUCATION.

Perhaps it might be fanciful to set up the West as the creator of the present New England standard of pronunciation, which shows the debilitating influence of Middle States, Southern and English locutions, as well as of Western, but in the training of youth, the shuttle has flown from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and back again. It was Humphreys in his poem on the Future State of the Western Territory, who predicted in 1787(?)

"Then oh, blest land! with genius unconfin'd.
With polish'd manners, and the illumin'd mind.
Thy future race on daring wing shall soar,
Each science trace, and all the arts explore."

And Humphreys had good reason to expect a high state of culture in the West, for like the first Englishmen who came to New England, the earliest settlers of this newer England included men of high intellectual power and excellent training. Manasseh Cutler, a graduate of Yale, was one of the most versatile and accomplished men of his time — minister, school master, botanist, member of Congress and commonwealth founder. His son relates of him that in his school he was equally successful in preparing for college, teaching theology and instructing in the art of navigation. Among the other settlers was "Major Dean Tyler, a scholar and a gentleman, educated at Harvard College." Putnam had been successful as farmer, military officer and surveyor. These were men, educated, not only in the schools, but in the practical side of life, men of foresight and daring, men of resources and courage.

One of their first solicitudes was for the proper bringing up of youth. A great deal of twaddle has been written about the origin of free public schools in America. Massachusetts, New York and Virginia contend for the honor of first introducing them; but not one of those communities previous to the Revolution ever established a system of what we call free public schools.

supported wholly by taxation and open equally to boys and girls. Outside of New England there was, when Marietta was planted, no such thing in the United States as a system of state supported schools of any kind, and in New England they were poorly taught, worse housed and not supervised at all. Nevertheless, the Ordinance of 1785 affirmed the public importance of education by reserving one thirty-sixth of the new land for the support of schools, and the Ordinance of 1787 inculcated the principle that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged;" while in the contract of the Ohio Company, Cutler secured a section in each township for the support of the schools, another "for the support of religion," and two whole townships for a university, as the gift of Congress to the new community. The principle of the duty to educate the youth was permanent; the educational land grant was fleeting, for the experience of a century has shown that no American community can be depended upon to protect such gifts, either by a system of leases, or by holding the land for a high price. Within the present limits of the city of Chicago were original school lands, which if properly husbanded would support the whole system of public schools magnificently, but of which only a few thousand square feet remain in public ownership. Even the indirect reflex of these grants, in the creation out of the proceeds of the Western Reserve of a permanent Connecticut school fund, in the judgment of the authorities of that state has served to educate the people of Connecticut chiefly into spending as little as possible beyond their proportion of the state fund.

The great significance of the schools in the Ohio Company's purchase, as in the Reserve, is that the people would have them, fund or no fund; and that they early adopted the idea of giving to girls equal educational opportunities, in the common schools. The admission of little children to mixed schools, and of larger girls to separate sections of the common schools was not unknown in New England; and there were a few co-educational academies prior to 1787. It was the West, however, with its widely diffused population, that taught the country the immense financial saving of large school expenditures. The success of the Western common schools, however crude and imperfectly organized, stimulated

the Eastern states, so that fifty years from the founding of Ohio, every Northern state had general public schools; and in girls' academies, and female seminaries, and in a few girls' high schools, opportunities for advanced instruction began. It was the West which first recognized the possibility of a college education for girls, as the founders of Oberlin College put it in 1833, "The elevation of the female character, by bringing within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex all the instructoral privileges which have hitherto unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs." Then in 1841 Oberlin began the conferring of the degree of A. B. on women. It was in Iowa that women were first admitted to the free privileges of a State University.

In this development, Ohio led the way. The foundation of Muskingum Academy in 1797 (or 1798) made possible the first step above the common schools; and the incorporation of a State University at Athens in 1801, followed by Miami University and Marietta College, emphasized the determination of the community to give its children the same kind of advantages that they had in the East.

It is impossible to say how far these things have reacted upon the older part of the country, but it is significant that the Moseley commission of English educational experts, a few years ago, pitched upon the University of Wisconsin as the typical American University. The idea of State Universities has so far worked backward into New England, that Maine and Vermont have adopted it, though in the other four states the ground is practically pre-empted by endowed Colleges of great prestige. But those endowed Colleges have been modified, both by the example of Western institutions and by the competition of their growing rivals. Coeducation, which does not accord with New England traditions, has penetrated into many of the public and private Universities of the East, and has only been stayed by the creation of splendidly housed and excellently taught separate women's Colleges, while the two great Universities of Harvard and Columbia have neutralized the demand for the education of the girls by setting up adjunct Colleges for women, a kind of lightning rods to carry away the electricity. In this respect influence seems to be moving a second time westward, inasmuch as this so-called

"co-ordinate system of education" has been adopted at Western Reserve University, and in part at the University of Chicago; while in several of the State Universities the students tacitly approve it by declining to affiliate with the women members of their classes in class organizations, or social events.

POLITICAL METHODS.

A larger, more direct and more easily traceable influence of the West upon the East has been in the development of government and political methods. In 1787 the machinery both of government and of parties was comparatively simple; state officers were few; appointive officers had secure tenures; elective officers were often chosen for many successive terms, and political parties were not yet constructed on a national basis. Political chicanery, fraud and corruption were by no means unknown: it was no political Arcady. More than two centuries ago, when a ballot was being taken in the Boston town meeting, it is recorded that "The Inhabitants proceeded to bring in their votes, & when the Selectmen were Receiving 'em at the Door of the Hall they observed one of the Inhabitants Vizt: John Pigeon to put in about a dozen with the word Yea wrote on all of 'em, and being charged with so doing he acknowledged it." In 1765 a Philadelphia politician wrote to a friend that the way to win was to "let it be spread through the country, that your party intend to come well armed to the election, and that you intend, if there is the least partiality in either sheriff, inspectors, or managers of the election, that you will thrash the sheriff, every inspector, Quaker and Mennonist to a jelly;" adding, "I see no danger in the scheme but that of a riot." The Western people had some early acquaintance with these methods. Ephraim Cutler complains that when a candidate for the colonelcy of his militia regiment in Ohio, the election was held in secret and without due notice; that even then he got a majority of the votes, but was nevertheless deprived of his office.

The great contribution of the West to American government has been the extension of the suffrage. For years nobody out there was rich except in the ownership of undeveloped lands, and the usual property qualifications were easy to acquire, so that the

universal suffrage of white men speedily came about. The desire to stimulate immigration led to the offer of suffrage to naturalized citizens and even to declarants. This flame of popular government swept backward across the mountains, and within about forty years from the planting of Ohio had practically overrun every New England State. This was the youth of the world; this was the glorious time when men believed in the educating power of the ballot; when "government by the consent of the governed" came as near realization as is humanly possible, when the immigrants on the whole justified the belief that responsibility brings reason and caution; when special privileges of property holders or tax payers disappeared. The Western communities, with something like equality of conditions, could furnish equality of opportunities; and exhibited to the world an example of real democracy. The East with its accumulated wealth, its tradition of social distinctions, and its variety of occupations seemed less fitted for such a process; nevertheless the right to vote was successfully extended to the day laborers and mill-hands of New England. The influence of universal suffrage has in our day been much diminished, first, by the wide-spread disposition to exclude a race of ten millions altogether, and second, from the neutralizing influence of masses of voters, casting their ballots as directed by employers, or by political machines; but there is as little likelihood of any serious diminution of this privilege in New England as in any part of the country.

Another influence of the West upon the East has been in the development of the idea of rotation in office. In New England, from Colonial times, it was expected that any efficient public servant, Governor, Judge or Assembly man, would be returned for a succession of years; thus Jonathan Trumbull was seventeen times elected Governor of Connecticut. Partly because of the unpopularity of Governor St. Clair during his fourteen years of service in the Northwest Territory, and partly because of the feeling that any man was good enough to clothe a public office, such long public service never obtained in the West, and from the replacing of elective officers at the end of brief terms, the idea of rotation extended to appointive officers, even to small positions. The sweeping out of political opponents, whenever a new party

got control of the State government, began in Pennsylvania and in New York, but the idea that a public office is a gift and not an opportunity, a good thing which ought to be passed from hand to hand, instead of an instrumentality for rendering a public service, grew very slowly in New England and was powerfully reinforced by the influence of the West.

In one of the arts of government the founders of the Ohio Company furnished a brilliant example. Never was there a more ingenious, systematic and successful piece of lobbying than that of Rev. Manasseh Cutler before the Congress of the Confederation. He came down to New York in July, 1787, armed with forty-three letters of introduction to members of Congress and other influential people; he dined with the president of the Board of Treasury; he paid his respects to the president of Congress; he called on members of Congress; he made a list of the members opposed to his project, in order to "bring the opponents over." "In order to get at some of them, so as to work powerfully on their minds," says he, "in some instances we engaged one person, who engaged a second, and he a third, and so on to a fourth before we could effect our purpose," an early instance of the mystic power of "influence." He finally reduced the opponents to three, about whom he said, "Of Few and Bingham, there is hope, but to bring over that stubborn mule of a Kearney I think beyond our power." He placated St. Clair by advocating his appointment to the Governorship of the Northwest Territory; and he finally accomplished his purpose by making a combination with the promoters of the Scioto Company, whose only object was to get "an option," which they might sell out without putting any money into the enterprise, and who organized a system of American and French companies and holding companies, which might be studied by some of our modern corporations with great profit to themselves and corresponding damage to the public interest. But all this machinery was set in motion, simply to accomplish a purpose of great benefit to the United States, and the land operations of the Ohio Company, though less successful financially than was hoped, showed an openness and straightforwardness in striking contrast to the shady manipulation of the Scioto Company, which resulted in fraud, bankruptcy and misery to all concerned. Cut-

ler's lobbying was arch-angelic compared with the contemporary scheme of the Cuyahoga Purchase, to which he alludes in his diary. Certain Canadians and others in 1796 got a fraudulent Indian Treaty, under which they claimed about five million acres south of Lake Erie; and they did their best to secure a confirmation from Congress; eventually the promoters were glad to accept six hundred dollars in settlement of their preposterous claims, which approach recent land transactions in Oregon for their bare-faced impudence.

THE PROBLEM OF COLONIZATION.

In still another way the West has been the instructor of the East. In the literature of the time, we find two significant phrases: Manasseh Cutler speaks of the settlement as a "colony," and Rufus Putnam calls the United States "an empire." Both words denote the conception that the United States consisted of two separate sections, the states and the territories or dependencies. Theodore Roosevelt thinks the foundation of Marietta an easy task compared with that of their neighbors in Kentucky and Tennessee. "The dangers they ran and the hardships they suffered," says he, in his *Winning of the West*, "in no wise approached those undergone and overcome by the iron-willed, iron-limbed hunters who first built their lonely cabins on the Cumberland and Kentucky." It is true that there was a springtime of intoxication of adventure and danger in the Southern settlements; that the Kentuckian might shout with the dweller of the Heaven-kissing Himalayas.

"O Joy! In the olden time the Head-Father-Spirit made the earth,
(He) the Sky-Existing-One made this earth,
He clothed the stony bosom of this tearful earth with fertile fields
When the men were made and the jointed bamboos and the trees.
At the same time were we, the sons of the (one)-mother-flesh jolly fellows.

O Joy! The mulberry trees were made with the rice and other food plants,
The running rivers were made with their fleeing fishes,
And fleeing sky-birds were made with the worms and insects,
And the rainbow was made by our old first great-grandfather,
(But) our troubles were made by our old first great-grandmother."

In this joy of the undiscovered the Ohio Associates perhaps did not share; but they knew many of the dangers of the frontier. For them the volleys of Indian musketry blazed out along the wooded bluffs of the Ohio; into their skulls sank the tomahawk; to their houses were applied the torch. The Kentuckian was but exchanging one log-house for another, leaving the buck for the buffalo; the New Englander was turning his back on comfort and prosperity. The Kentuckian expected to remain a backwoodsman; the Ohioan, from the first conception of Putnam in 1783, had no intention of anything but ultimate statehood and membership in the Federal Union. The Northwest Territory was the school of future States; its constitution, the great Ordinance of 1787 is a document which stands alongside Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence as a bold assertion of the rights of the individual.

Especially was this difference of moral purpose visible in the slavery clause of the Ordinance. The Kentuckian and the Tennessean carried along his slave, if he had any, and drifted into a status of permanent slave-holding; the Ohio Company insisted on the first national condemnation of slavery, and in spite of the strong influence of Southern settlers, every State formed out of the Northwest Territory, persisted in freedom. These two lessons were read by older States. The influence of Ohio, and Indiana, and Illinois helped to hold Connecticut, and New York and Pennsylvania and New Jersey to their schemes of gradual emancipation. From the Ohio Purchase and from Western Reserve sprang two streams of anti-slavery sentiment, which united in a Western abolition movement, as vigorous and more effective than the New England movement. Thus the New England people, in sowing the seed of liberty and equal justice were preparing a crop, not only for their Western children, but for their kindred remaining on the Atlantic coast.

After all, is not the great reason for the influence of the West on New England, the earlier influence of New England on the West, which still goes on unchecked and unmeasured? If the West sends eastward ideals, ideas, men and wealth, New England sends westward wealth, men, ideas and ideals. In the world of

the mind, in the realm of action, there is no longer an East or a West; we all listen to Walt Whitman:

"I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear,
Those of mechanics, each one singing his as it should be, blithe and strong,
The carpenter singing his as he measures his plank or beam,
The mason singing his as he makes ready for work, or leaves off work.
The delicious singing of the mother, or of the young wife at work, or
of the girl sewing or washing,
Each singing what belongs to him or her and to none else,
The day what belongs to the day—at night the party of young fellows,
robust, friendly,
Singing with open mouths their strong melodious songs."

It is in this sense that Birnam Wood has at last come to Dun-sinane, that the New-Anglicized West has become the tutor of his schoolmaster, that the child and the grandsire are twin brothers. Of New England it might be said, as Bacon said of Rome, "It was not Rome that came upon the world, but the world that came upon the Romans; and that is the sure way of greatness."



TALLMADGE TOWNSHIP.

E. O. RANDALL.

Six miles east of Akron, the thriving official center of its county, in almost its pristine solitude, pioneer simplicity and primitive picturesqueness, lies the quiet little village of Tallmadge. Its two or three hundred contented inhabitants go their



DAVID BACON.

way today, as undisturbed by the social follies or the commercial whirl, distant but one hour's travel, as though they were lodged in some vast wilderness, inaccessible to the inroads of society's corruptions. To walk the broad, tree-canopied streets and talk with the genuine, generous, cultured and unpretentious people of this "loveliest village of the plain," even for a day, is to receive rest for the mind and peace for the soul. It has been truly claimed that Ohio was the last stand of Puritanism. In Tallmadge as no where else

in this commonwealth still lingers the influence of its New England ancestry. The form may be much dwarfed and the spirit be weak, but the latter is still potent enough to be felt. To enter Tallmadge is to breathe the atmosphere of the simple life. The vanity and vexation of the twentieth century are strangers to Tallmadge; they would not stay long if they came, they would feel so out of place. This is why we tell about Tallmadge for we have been there and know whereof we speak.

Topographically, Tallmadge is four hundred feet above the level of Lake Erie, resting on the "Portage Summit," the elevation between the rivers Cuyahoga and Tuscarawas and on the "carrying trail" over which, in the early days of canoe travel, the portable boats were transferred from one stream to the other, thus securing connected navigation from the Great Lakes to the "Father of Waters." It is in Summit county, so called because being the highest land on the line of the Ohio Canal. Summit County, carved from Portage, Medina and Stark Counties, dates back politically to 1840. These three latter counties, just mentioned, came out of Trumbull. Tallmadge antedates Summit County by a generation. That we may comprehend the indelible character stamped by its early settlers upon this town, we must briefly recall its ancestry and descent.

THE WESTERN RESERVE.

It is a far cry from the throne of the Charles' in the early years of the seventeenth century to the township of Tallmadge in the beginning of the twentieth century, but the historical chain is complete and the links are easily followed. The dissolute monarchs just named granted to certain favorites portions of lands in the New World. Renewed charters were issued by succeeding Kings until the colony and subsequent State of Connecticut, claimed under its charters, a strip of territory facing the New England coast from latitude 41° south to parallel $42^{\circ} 2'$ north and extending west from "sea to sea." That strip in its westward extension, it will be seen, embraced what was later to be the northern part of Ohio. The Northwest Territory was similarly cut into by the colonial claims of New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia, the latter embracing the southern portion of Ohio to-be. We are rehearsing school boy history, history so well known that it almost repeats itself, but thus only may we get the proper perspective for our sketch. The American Revolution forever severed the ties of the mother country to these colonies, which emerged from that conflict sovereign States. These States united into a federal government claimed the great territory west of the Alleghanies. It was claimed by the Indians who occupied it. It was likewise demanded by the colonies whose

charters extended through it. The United States government by treaties and wars of conquest abrogated or usurped the rights of the Indians. One by one the States ceded their claims to the new government. Virginia reserved certain lands between the Great Miami and Scioto River, known as the Virginia Military Lands, to be given as bounties to the Revolutionary veterans from the Old Dominion. Connecticut, with Yankee persistency and frugality, was the last colony to "give up." This she did on September 14, 1786, then ceding her claims west of the Alleghanies *except* a tract of land bounded north by the international line, east by the western line of Pennsylvania, south by the forty-first parallel of north latitude and west by a line parallel with one hundred and twenty miles west from the Pennsylvania line. This western terminus is now the eastern boundaries of Sandusky and Huron Counties. This territory Connecticut reserved, hence its appellation, "New Connecticut," and more often the "Western Reserve." The United States government having now got title and possession of the lands north and west of the Ohio River by the famous "Ordinance of 1787," organized it into a vast political territory. But this did not include the Western Reserve. The part now embraced in the Counties of Erie and Huron, and consisting of some 500,000 acres, was subsequently (1792) set apart by the General Assembly of Connecticut to compensate the people of that colony who had suffered loss, chiefly from fire, from the incursions of the British troops during the Revolution. This tract has ever since been known as "The Fire Lands." The Western Reserve was a worry to Connecticut. It was too far distant to be available. It was a howling wilderness inhabited by savage men and ferocious animals. A purchaser was finally found. It was the Connecticut Land Company. This Company organized for the purpose described originally consisted of thirty-five persons. The tract, sold without measurement, but supposed to contain 4,000,000 acres, was contracted for in September, 1795. The price agreed upon was \$1,200,000 or thirty cents per acre. The purchase was made upon credit secured by mortgages. The stockholders placed the title in three trustees. The amount was divided into 400 shares of \$3,000 each. Any one paying in a sum received a certificate entitling him to an amount of the land pro-

portionate to the payment. The tract was divided into townships of five miles square each, and designated by numbers and ranges. The numbers ran from south to north and the ranges from east to west. The certificates of purchase were numbered and the numbers drawn as in a lottery. Each proprietor therefore drew a township or a fraction of one according to amount paid. The location of this land was determined by lot. The inequalities arising from this method of choice were equalized by giving to those who drew a poor township, a part also of a better one. There were many unique and curious features about this "West-



School House, Public Park, Tallmadge.

ern Reserve" land scheme. One of these features, absolutely without similarity in American history, was the question of the political status of the Reserve. When Connecticut sold this territory to the Land Company, she yielded all her right, title and interest, jurisdictional as well as to soil. She no longer governed the Reserve. The United States government had no civil jurisdiction because the section was never ceded to it. It was an independent, orphan, piece of a previous colony. The Ordinance of 1787 did not cover it. The purchasers made frequent applications to the State of Connecticut to extend her jurisdiction and

laws over the territory, and to the United States to accept jurisdiction, but both refused. The Western Reserve was an anomalous autonomy, an isolated piece of a previous colony. In 1800 acts of Congress and of the Connecticut Legislature confirmed the title of Connecticut to the soil of the Reserve on one hand and released jurisdiction to the United States on the other. Thus for the first time in its history, the Western Reserve came within any civil jurisdiction and its people were protected and governed by law. From 1795 to 1800 they were absolutely without laws or government of any kind. There were no courts, no laws, no records, no magistrates or police and no modes of enforcing or protecting land titles or personal rights. It was literally, says Mr. Hutchins, "No man's land," so far as government and law were concerned. But it was, he might have added, a veritable Utopia. It was the acme and dream of ideal society. "Lands were bought and sold, personal contracts made, marriages solemnized and personal rights respected as in the best governed societies, and all without government and without law." It is a peculiar and perfect picture for the contemplation of the historian and the political economist. It was unequalled, and explained only by the fact that these self-governing settlers were the descendants of the New England stock, the heirs to the truth, the honesty and honor of the Pilgrim Fathers. I know of no incident so illustrative of the principle of the "square deal and fair play." When in 1800 the United States took in the Western Reserve, it became a part of the Northwest Territory and was organized into one County, called Trumbull, after Jonathan Trumbull, the grand old patriot, Governor of Connecticut and the original "Brother Jonathan." The wilderness of the Western Reserve began to be broken and dotted by the settlers from New England, at first mainly from Connecticut. One of these settlers now commands our attention, for he is the patron saint and martyr of Tallmadge.

DAVID BACON.

David Bacon, the founder of Tallmadge, was a native of Woodstock, Massachusetts, making his natal entry into that town early in September, 1771. The English ancestry of this family came to America previous to 1640. We are indebted for our

brief summary of the career of David Bacon to articles written by his distinguished son, the late Reverend Leonard Bacon, and published in the *Congregational Quarterly*, 1876. The family was a typical one of the New England Puritan persuasion. David was trained in the godly thought and habits of those days. After



Congregational Church. Built 1822.

drifting about to various locations, engaged in various avocations, he settled (1799) in Mansfield, Connecticut. His religious nature, inborn and strengthened by education, impelled him to the service of the Gospel among the most benighted of his fellowmen. He resolved to be a missionary to the Western Indians. He was

not a college graduate nor an ordained minister, but self-sacrifice, unusual natural ability, and a desire to serve the Master, qualified him for the missionary field. The missionary spirit was beginning to possess the good people of New England, and in 1798 the pastors of the Connecticut churches completed an organization called "The Missionary Society of Connecticut." There still existed a partial relation, in Connecticut, of church and State, and the Governor was authorized to issue a yearly "brief" calling for a contribution from each Congregational parish in the State, for this missionary society. In the summer of 1800 David Bacon, who had read some theology with a clergyman, was examined by the committee, "as to his doctrinal and experimental acquaintance with the truth," and the examiners were "fully satisfied with his answers." Learning that he was "embarrassed in his worldly circumstances," the committee kindly undertook to mediate between Mr. Bacon and his creditors, but assumed no responsibility for his debts. Those debts could not have been very large, as it was evidently expected that he would be able to pay them out of a salary of "one hundred and ten cents a day," which was the compensation to be awarded him for his services as a missionary, with an additional allowance for an interpreter. His field was designated as the "Indians in the vicinity of Sandusky Bay or to some of the Tribes south and west of Lake Erie." His engagement was for a term not exceeding six months. Amid fervent prayers for his success, he bade his friends farewell and with his luggage on his back, started alone and on foot from Hartford for the then far West. Including opportunities to catch a ride now and then, he traveled about twenty-five miles a day. At Canandaigua (N. Y.) he met Captain Chapin, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and from him obtained a letter commending him to the Seneca chiefs at Buffalo Creek — now Buffalo City. At this latter point he was welcomed by Sir William Johnson, the Indian agent and interpreter, husband of the sister of Joseph Brant, chief of the Mohawks. The Indians assembled to give Mr. Bacon audience. One of the speakers was Red Jacket, the Seneca orator, who among other things said the Senecas would gladly receive a missionary if they could discover that their white neighbors were also made better by his preaching! Bacon reached

Detroit thirty-four days after leaving Hartford. He visited and held council with the Indians at Mackinac, deciding that the field in that region was more promising for his work. The Indians in that locality were more numerous and more in need of the gospel. After two months sojourn in the Mackinac country, he returned to Hartford to report his plans and obtain endorsement for their execution. The Committee on Missions approved his report and his proposals for future work and the Trustees of the Missionary Society ordained him to the gospel ministry. He was married, on Christmas Eve, at Lebanon (Conn.), to Alice Parks, a most attractive and accomplished miss of eighteen, who was thenceforth to share the joys and sorrows of the young minister.

In accordance with his own suggestion, the Rev. David Bacon was delegated by the Missionary Society to Arbrecroche, some forty miles from Mackinac, and a center of the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Ojibways. Thither he proceeded with his young bride in the midst of winter. But the religious zeal was irresistible and his courage dauntless. He and his wife both intended to learn the Indian languages that they might better ingratiate themselves into the confidence and friendliness of the natives. But the obstacles were greater than they had reckoned. The Catholic missionaries had been there before them; more than all else the heathen of the forest were debauched by the fur traders and made suspicious and hostile by the British and French Canadians. After months of fruitless efforts to convert the men or educate the children the outlook was "dark and gloomy and what adds to the gloom, there is little prospect that it will ever be otherwise," he wrote home. The soul of the devout but discouraged missionary was vexed with the profaneness, drunkenness, licentiousness and absolute ungodliness that surrounded him. The white man's rum and dissolute example had done its deadly work. The reverend and his intrepid wife made poor progress in acquiring the Indian dialects and interpreters for religious work were practically impossible. The situation was graphically set forth in a speech to Rev. Bacon by Pondegauwan, a Chippewa chief:

"My father, I have spoken to our children, to get them to listen to you, but they tell me that they think they are too foolish to learn.

"My father, we think the Great Spirit did not put us on the ground to learn such things as the white people learn. If he had thought it proper, he would have taught us such things when he put us here. My father, we cannot live together so as to attend to these things like the white people. The Great Spirit has given them cattle and everything about them that they want to live upon. If they are hungry they have only to go into their yard and kill a creature. But he gave us no such things. He put us upon the ground to run in the woods to get our living. When we are hungry, we have to go away and hunt to get something to eat. If we set out in the morning, we may have to run all day to find something, and we sometimes have to go without. My father, we hope you will be disposed to give our people such things



Congregational Church. Interior at Time of Centennial, 1907.

as they need. And we hope they will do better in future. If it was not for rum, they would like what you have to say to them very well. But rum is our master."

Moreover the personal deprivations and discouragements endured by the Rev. and Mrs. Bacon were almost fatal. They lived in a hut nearly uninhabitable, suffered for proper food and clothing, the remittances due them from the Society did not come or were so delayed as to cause loss and distress. Creditors were clamoring for their pay. Two little ones arrived in the family, adding paternal and maternal joys, but increasing the needs and

trials of the household. The details constitute a pathetic story. The attempted mission came to an end in the summer of 1804, when orders were received from Hartford for Mr. Bacon to abandon his efforts among the Indians, repair to New Connecticut, there await further orders, making meanwhile a report to the Society of his financial affairs. After a journey prolonged by sickness and suffering the family reached Hudson (Ohio), where the wife and children were left and whence Mr. Bacon proceeded on, alone, to Hartford. The Missionary Committee received Mr. Bacon's report, paid him in full for his services as missionary to the Indians and discontinued his labors in that field. David Hudson, founder of the Western Reserve town bearing his name, and the Revs. Joseph Badger and Thomas Robbins, sort of peripatetic pastors in the Western Reserve, urged the Connecticut Society to place Rev. Bacon in the New Connecticut field. It was done, the Society agreeing to pay half the expense of the newly appointed pastor while the local churches, among which he might administer, were to bear the other half.

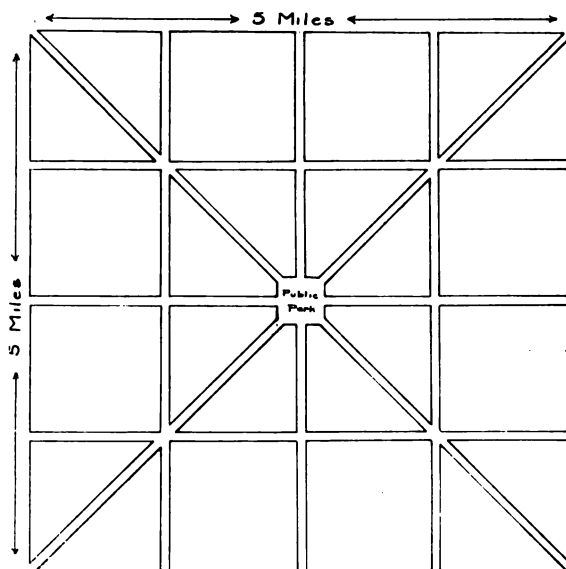
THE TALLMADGE SETTLEMENT.

In March, 1805, Rev. Bacon began his *quasi* pastoral work in Hudson. From this center he went about the Reserve preaching in the little settlements, often in isolated log cabins to a single family, at times trudging through the forest like the Apostles of old without scrip or purse. The wandering experience made him thoroughly acquainted with the wants and with the possibilities and prospects of the Western Reserve in its initial settlements. He was convinced that more could be done for the establishment of Christian institutions and for the moral and religious welfare of the Reserve as a whole, by one conspicuous example, a well organized and well Christianized township, "with all the best arrangements and appliances of New England civilization, than by years of desultory effort in itinerant preaching." He would establish a community of which religion should be the basic and inseparable element, a settlement after the form and spirit of the early Puritan ideals. "Being near what was then the western limit of the progress of settlement in that region, he looked about him for a vacant township in which such an attempt might

be made. Ten miles south from the centre of Hudson was the centre of such a township, 'No. 2 in the tenth Range.' His prophetic mind saw the exquisite capabilities of that five-miles square, its fertile soil, its salubrious air, its beautiful undulating surface, its pure and abundant water, its stream singing in the grand old woods, and rich with power for the service of man. He saw that the proprietorship of it was chiefly in the hands of men who, as his trusting and hopeful nature led him to believe, would enter into his views, and would even be willing to sacrifice something of their possible gains (if need should be) for so great a scheme of public usefulness as that with which his mind was laboring." Moved by this new call to the cause of his Master, Mr. Bacon relinquished his previous engagements for that of the new enterprise, and in the Autumn of 1805 proceeded with his family to Hartford, a wagon journey of five weeks. He at once began the exploitation of his plans and sought for parties who would aid him in their prosecution. In the distribution of the land of the Reserve among the stock purchasers, Town 2, Range 10, was originally drawn by two companies called the Brace Company and the Rockwell Company; the first consisted of Jonathan Brace, Justin Ely, Roger Newberry, Elijah White and Enoch Perkins; the second company comprised Azariah Rockwell, Abram Root, Oliver Dickinson and Stephen W. James. Subsequently Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, of Litchfield, Conn., and Ephraim Starr, of Goshen, Conn., purchased the interest of the Rockwell Company and became tenants in common with the Brace Company. In the prosecution of his plans, Mr. Bacon on July 12, 1806, contracted with Mr. Starr and soon afterwards with Col. Tallmadge for the purchase of their entire interest in the township, and with the Brace Company for a part of their interest—in all for about 12,000 acres, at the price of one dollar and fifty cents per acre. David Bacon, it is readily imagined, did not pay for this property at the time of purchase. He merely made a contract of purchase, with the agreement that when any part of the price was delivered a deed should be made for the part so paid for. Mr. Bacon gave the name of Tallmadge to the township, as from him the largest holding had been secured, viz., 6,245 acres. He was also doubtless actuated by the fact that the name of Colonel Tallmadge

was the most conspicuous one in New England connected with the Bacon purchase and moreover, that Colonel Tallmadge was in full accord with the religious views and philanthropic plans of David Bacon.

The boundary lines of the township were originally surveyed in 1797, and within a few years afterwards, probably before 1805, the township was laid out, under the direction of Gen. Simon Perkins, into twenty-five sections of one square mile each,



Plan of Tallmadge Township as Laid out by Bacon. Each square contains 1,000 acres. Eight roads converge from Public Park.

by Caleb Palmer, surveyor. In November, 1806, Mr. Bacon had a new subdivision of the township made by Seth L. Ensign, surveyor, into sixteen large lots of one and a quarter miles square and containing one thousand acres each. This last survey has been recognized in all subsequent sales and sub-divisions. The geographical center of the township, according to the plans of Mr. Bacon, was to be the religious, educational and social center. Five parallel roads running north and south and five par-

allel roads running east and west cut the township into the sixteen equal divisions. In the exact center of the township was established the Public Square, from which radiated four roads extending respectively to the four corners of the township. One can stand, therefore, in the public square and look down or up eight straight roads. The great lots were generally subdivided into six smaller lots — excepting those at the center, which were divided into lots of a few acres each, for the accommodation of mechanics and professional men, who were expected to locate there. Says Mr. Sill in his semi-centennial address, "slight as the relation may appear to a hasty observer, his (Bacon's) plan of the township, which may well be termed a model, has undoubtedly produced a marked, abiding and beneficial effect upon the character of its inhabitants, and furnishes evidences of the absorbing idea and sagacity of its author. The greatest possible facility for intercommunication being, by this plan, furnished to all sections of the township — the unity of sentiment and purpose of its citizens, otherwise so carefully sought after, has been secured as it scarcely could have been under other conditions."

Probably no rural town in this state or elsewhere was similarly projected. It was a village with a heart from which should flow all excellent influences and to which should be easily and irresistibly drawn all members of the community. Says Leonard Bacon, son of David: "The meeting-house at the geographical centre, with the parsonage, the physicians' houses, the academy, the country inn, and the mechanics' shops and dwellings around the neighborhood, school-houses at the corners made by the intersection of the parallel roads with the diagonals, the attraction drawing all households, on the Sabbath, towards the central place of worship where all the highways meet, the gentle pressure of the bond of neighborhood, binding every family to every other — all this was in the mind of the projector when he drew the plan, and was often on his lips while he was toiling to achieve the reality." To still further indelibly implant the influence of religion upon the settlers in this community, David Bacon in all his contracts of sale to sub-purchasers, inserted a clause charging every one hundred acres of land sold with a tax of two dollars a year for the support of the gospel — and none could

have any land at any price or on any condition except that of joining the church, and subscribing to the Saybrook Platform, which was the ecclesiastical constitution or state confession of faith adopted by the state of Connecticut through legislative enactment in 1703. Could the good David Bacon revert the wheels of time for a century and transplant in the Western Reserve the roots of New England character so they would thrive and grow? It was a noble purpose; a courageous undertaking; but alas for the hopes of human futility. Mr. Bacon was the first settler in his land of promise. With his wife, three little children, one an infant six months of age, and an assistant, Justin E. Fink, the "Honest and faithful hired man," the founder of this new religious kingdom set out from Hudson in one of the cumbersome, slow moving wagons of the time. It was June 24, 1807, when they halted on the banks of a little creek, on the south line of the Township one-half mile west of the north and south center road. Here the clearing was made and the little log hut was erected, close to the old Portage Path, over which the Indians passed in their journeyings. Mr. Bacon was therefore the foremost pioneer of his own enterprise. The new city of David was launched. And now began the tedious work of seeking other families who would enter into his views and actively co-operate with him in the permanent establishment of this isolated Christian community. With the exception of George Boosinger, a German having no interest in Bacon's plans, who built a cabin in the south-east corner of the Township in the Fall (1807) but left before Winter, Mr. Bacon's family constituted the only inhabitants until the Spring of 1808. The recruits to the settlement began to appear, but they were few and far between. Many were the tedious and prolonged journeys made by Mr. Bacon to the older Western Reserve villages to present his claims and persuade others into co-operation. With great joy and relief the arrival of each new family was welcomed. Slowly the incomers were enrolled in the little pioneer circle, from 1807 to 1810 — "too slowly for the hopes, far too slowly for the personal interest and pecuniary responsibilities of the founder." But his religious zeal did not abate. In midwinter, in the bleak month of January (1809) the faithful few assembled in the Bacon log cabin, which had been

the temple of worship from the start, and organized "the church of Christ, in Tallmadge." Baptism and the Lord's Supper were administered. Ten members comprised the little church, organized under the form of Congregational self-government and which "promised to be the best on the Reserve." The writer of this sketch, under the pilotage of Mr. L. V. Bierce, sought the site of this first tabernacle in the wilds of Tallmadge Township. The location is now nearly a mile from the nearest highway, in



Monument Marking Site of Bacon's Cabin.

the midst of a spacious wheat field reached by a trackless tramp through meadows and woods. The site is marked by a gigantic glacial boulder upon the flinty face of which is carved the inscription:

"Here the First Church in Tallmadge was Gathered In
the House of Rev. David Bacon, Jan. 22, 1809 — June 2, 1880."

The last date is that of the erection of this memorial stone. The church, thus early established, though not including the en-
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tire colony, was really the basis of the settlement, giving it its true character and interest from the beginning. Individuals not connected with the church, were yet actively interested in sustaining the institutions of religion, and a regular mode of contributing to its support was adopted by the formation of a society — members of which need not be communicants — under the name of the Congregational Society of Tallmadge, — with a voluntary system of taxation upon persons and property.

BACON'S DISCOMFITURE.

The year 1810 brought some encouragement, for it marked the arrival of the first settlers that came directly from New England; among these Elizur Wright from Canaan, Conn., "who brought with him not only a large family but more capital and more wealth of culture than any who had come before him." Many others deserve mention for their prominence and subsequent efficiency in the development of the community but space does not permit us to specify. Thus originated the Tallmadge Colony. In the fall of 1810 Mr. Bacon wrote a New England friend: "There are now in the Township about thirty families; we have twenty-five persons who are professors of religion, but they have not all of them joined the church as yet."

The community, however, was never consolidated into the Congregational fold. It will be recalled that Mr. Bacon had not purchased or contracted for all the land of the Township. Sections uncontrolled by him were sold by the Brace Company to some settlers not of Bacon's faith, and those took title free from the incumbrance as to religious belief or church tax imposed by Mr. Bacon. Some holders of this "unrestricted" property espoused "liberal sentiments which contrasted favorably with those of Bacon which have strong marks of a state religion, as was at that time established in Connecticut; those who were willing to aid *voluntarily* in the support of the Gospel, protested against a *tax* or involuntary and compulsory payment for that purpose." This non-conformity on the outside was augmented by dissension within. The Napoleonic Wars in Europe and Jefferson's political policies in the United States created a wave of "hard times" in New England. The tide of emigration to the west was arrested.

"Men in Connecticut who might have emigrated could not sell their farms and were compelled to wait for better times. What money came into the Western Reserve in those days was brought on the current of emigration and the little that came was continually returning in payment for lands as well as for necessities which the wilderness could not yield." There was little buying and selling except by barter. Inevitably under the pressure of such times, the founder of Tallmadge became embarrassed in his business relations to the proprietors in Connecticut. The fulfillment of his contract with his creditors became impossible



Public Park, Tallmadge.

because the land he had agreed to buy could not be sold and he could get no money for the little he had sold. The titles he had conferred upon his settlers were invalidated by his failure to meet his obligations with his Connecticut grantors. Some of his new church members were in danger of losing both their land and whatever partial payments they had made to him. Such an outcome brought strained relations between the good people and the unfortunate but blameless pastor. In the Spring of 1811, Bacon leaving his family in the midst of his discomfiture, set out on horse back for New England. It is a sad scene this last act in the tragic drama of Bacon's plans. Nearly a year he re-

mained in Old Connecticut, courageously and manfully struggling to save his colony, his credit and the furtherance of his religious plans. But the worldly elements were against him. He could not stem the tide. The times were out of joint. "So far as the proprietor's interests were concerned, the undertaking of his life was a failure. Instead of a homestead with comforts for his declining years, instead of shelter and support for his wife and helpless children, nothing remained to him but the burden of debts which he had contracted in good faith and without reasonable hope of ability to discharge them." With difficulty he obtained merely means for returning to his family and of removing them from the scene of so bitter a struggle and so great a disappointment. "Broken in health, broken in heart, yet sustained by an immovable confidence in God and by faith that reaches into eternity, he turned from the field of hopes that had so sadly perished and bade his last farewell to Tallmadge and the Western Reserve." This was in May, 1812. In Litchfield, Conn., he taught school to sustain his family; he preached in various places; took part in two publishing enterprises, striving the while to obtain justice for his creditors. On August 29, 1817, in Hartford, Conn., he bade farewell to earthly strife and passed to his reward. "His disease," writes his devoted son, and faithful biographer, "was that to which physicians have given the expressive name *Marasmus*, from the Greek word which signifies to *wither*."

We have written the story, unique and inspiring of the career of David Bacon. The dreams of his religious and philanthropic soul were not to be realized. But his work was not in vain. The little village of Tallmadge lived on and thrived and became a center of religion, education and sturdy Christian manhood, for which it has ever since been characterized.

The ideas of Bacon were not to meet their full fruition but they were not without fruit. His spirit like the imperishable rock that marks the place of his first cabin and church, still abides in the quiet little town of Tallmadge.

The continuation of the history of Tallmadge after the departure of its founder is almost as interesting as its origin, but we cannot follow this—our task is practically accomplished when

we have described the beginning. In its subsequent career were many curious and amusing incidents illustrative of the customs of those pioneer days, one we record as deserving preservation. We repeat it from the rare little history of Summit county by Gen. L. V. Bierce, published in 1857. He is describing the erection of the original Congregational church edifice:

The present elegant, and spacious house was commenced in 1822. Reuben Beach, long a prominent, and worthy citizen, as well as exemplary member of the church, was chosen superintendent of the building. A day was appointed in which the timber for the house was to be drawn on to the ground, and to insure promptness, Mr. Beach offered a gallon of whiskey to the man that would get the first stick on the spot. This *stimulated* them to action, and each was anxious to win the prize. Great preparations were made the night before—oxen kept yoked up all night—timber hauled into the road—and everything ready for an early start and fair race in the morning. One man only appeared indifferent—that was Daniel Beach, now of Ruggles. He kept his oxen yoked up, but had prepared no timber. As soon as daylight appeared he hitched on to a fine stick, that Justus Barns had prepared and drawn into the road, and before Barns was fairly awake, had his stick of timber upon the ground, and got the whiskey. So expeditious was he that he had been sitting on his log some time before Mr. Beach arrived with the prize. By the time it was fairly daylight the neighbors had mostly arrived, and the timber for the whole house was on the ground. The prize was more fairly distributed than won, and as the superintendent was the last man on the ground it was resolved that he should be punished by an exhibition of him, and a proclamation of the fact, round the Town. He was accordingly chained on to a sled, and all the oxen attached to it, and the balance of the day devoted to exhibiting him, round town in that situation.

THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL.

On June 24, 1857, Tallmadge celebrated its Semi-Centennial, the fiftieth anniversary of its settlement. Large numbers of its early inhabitants, for many were then still living, gathered to participate in the interesting program of the occasion. The Rev. Carlos Smith of Tallmadge, called the assembly to order, the Scriptures were read by Rev. William Monks of Tallmadge; prayer was offered by Rev. William Hanford, one of the oldest clergymen of the Western Reserve. The historical address was delivered by Hon. Elisha N. Sill of Tallmadge. It was an interesting account of the origin and rise of the town, with elaborate detail

concerning the citizens who had taken conspicuous part in its history. Two daughters of David Bacon were present; Mrs. Julia Bacon Woodruff, then of Cuba, N. Y., who was six months of age when her father settled in Tallmadge and Mrs. Alice Bacon Peck, then of Rochester, N. Y., who was born in Tallmadge. Another daughter, who does not seem to have been present, but was then living, was Miss Delia Salter Bacon, born in Tallmadge the last year of the family's sojourn. She was an authoress of note and won great fame as the advocate and first one to give publicity to the theory that Francis Bacon wrote



Public Park, Tallmadge.

Shakespeare. The honored orator of the day was the Rev. Leonard Bacon, born during the Mackinac mission of his father. He became one of the most distinguished divines of the Congregational church, wrote many books and was a preacher of great polish and power. The oration was a most scholarly one; naturally in deep sympathy with the occasion, a touching and masterful tribute to the life of a father, the founder of the Christian community, whose survivors and descendants gathered to revive the memories of the early days. The value of and interest in the address of Leonard Bacon was greatly enhanced by

the fact that his memory reverted back to the little log cabin, the temple of the Lord, set up in the wilderness of the Portage Trail.

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

On June 27, 1907, the modern little town of Tallmadge fittingly celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of its birth. An assemblage of several hundred, comprising the citizens of the happy town, nearby neighbors and those from distant homes, gathered to participate in the proceedings. The following program, previously arranged by the centennial committee, was successfully carried out: Call to order at 9 A. M., by the Rev. P. D. Dodge, President of the Day:

Reading of Scripture and Prayer.....	Rev. E. J. Smith
Words of Welcome.....	Rev. Wm. B. Marsh
Settlement of Tallmadge and Early Days.....	Lucius V. Bierce
History of Schools.....	Miss Lottie Clark
History of the Congregational Church.....	Rev. S. Upton
History of the M. E. Church.....	Raymond Barnes
History of the Welsh Congregational Church.....	Mrs. A. C. Jones

At 12 o'clock there was an intermission of two hours for a basket picnic dinner and examination of relics, of which there was a large and most interesting collection. The program resumed at 2 P. M., was as follows:

Military History of Tallmadge.....	Col. Geo. M. Wright
Business Enterprises	Sidney C. Barnes
Music and Musical Organizations.....	Miss Mary Carter
Benediction	Rev. Chas. Cutler

The exercises were interspersed both in the forenoon and afternoon with music by the Eighth Regiment Band of Akron. Additional music was furnished by a chorus and orchestra of local talent, attired in old-time costumes and making a handsome as well as amusing appearance.

In the evening there were brief addresses by J. W. Walton and Sereno Fenn of Cleveland, Mrs. Isabelle Berry of Akron, Rev. Homer W. Carter of Beloit, Wis., and Rev. J. C. Treat of Burton, Ohio, all former residents of Tallmadge.

We regret that space does not permit our incorporating in

full in this article the addresses of the speakers on this interesting occasion. We can only allude briefly to one or two of the speakers. As we learned from the Rev. P. D. Dodge, few townships have so complete and accurate historical data, as that of Tallmadge. This is due largely to the Tallmadge Historical Society, organized in 1858. The men who planned this society were Chas. C. Bronson, Jas. O. Wolcott, Andrew Fenn, Lucius V. Bierce and Lucius C. Walton, who met at the home of Andrew Fenn, March 19, 1858, and took the preliminary steps that led to a complete organization the 24th of the same month. One of the founders, Chas. C. Bronson, was historian of the society for many years and the results of his untiring researches are embodied in several closely written volumes that are of great historical value and are carefully preserved. Mr. Bronson was for many years one of the striking characters of the community. He was born in Middlebury, Conn., July 5, 1804, and came with his parents to Tallmadge in 1819. All their household goods were lost on the journey. In the struggle that followed to carve a farm out of the forest, to build a home and gain a sustenance, Charles Bronson developed that sturdy character for which so many men and women of those earlier days were noted. He died April 11, 1886.

Of the five men who were responsible for the inception of the historical society, Mr. Lucius V. Bierce is the only one now living. For many years he has been the society's efficient secretary, which office he still fills with great acceptance. Mr. Bierce was born in Athens county, June 2, 1827. He was left an orphan in early life and was obliged to shift for himself while yet quite young and came to Tallmadge in 1843, where he learned the trade of carriage trimmer. By thrift and economy he acquired a comfortable village home and later a nice farm of nearly one hundred acres close to the center of the township. Mr. Bierce is of noted Colonial ancestry, a man of sterling quality, intolerant of hypocrisy and shams; has filled many offices of trust and is held in the highest esteem by all people. For more than fifty years he has been an active member of the Congregational church, in whose councils his judgment is still sought and appreciated. Mr. Bierce was secretary of the committee that planned

and successfully carried out the program for the centennial observance of the settlement of the township, and to him and Mr. Sidney C. Barnes, the chairman of the committee, much credit is due for the success of that occasion.

To Mr. L. V. Bierce, the secretary of the Tallmadge Historical Society, nephew of Gen. Lucius V. Bierce, we are indebted for the hospitality of a delightful July day in the precincts of Tallmadge Township and for an account of the proceedings of the centennial celebration.



L. V. BIERCE.

"A pretty country town, a beautiful June day, groups of happy men and women, interested children; that was enough to make any occasion delightful. If there be added the memories and traditions of a hundred years, the renewal of early associations and friendships, it was a time of tender joys and hallowed remembrances. Such was June 27,

1907, for the town of Tallmadge, in Summit county; the ringing of bells and firing of anvils at sunrise to the waking people that the day for celebrating the centennial anniversary of the settlement of the township had come. Early in the day along the roads that lead to Tallmadge there were carriages, surreys and automobiles with their loads of people; and every train on the Erie brought hundreds more, until about fifteen hundred were enjoying greetings in the park or listening to the addresses prepared for the occasion, or viewing the relics displayed in the Town Hall, of which there were over five hundred, a valuable collection to have been gathered in a single township. The centennial of Tallmadge was of peculiar interest because of the unique beginning of the community, and the influence and ideals that have been kept predominant. A community of persons tenacious for certain religious sentiments, and from which those, not in sympathy with their views, are excluded, is not an unfamiliar inci-

dent in our national life. But that the people founding a new community should be bound together by no peculiar ideas, except their absolute adherence to the accepted Christian beliefs and practices of their day; and that they should make the perpetuation of their simple faith and practice secure in the beginnings and development of their community life without isolation from their neighbors, and with no peculiarism to uphold; all this, and the studied use of methods for the accomplishment of their purpose to make the history of the enterprise unique. In 1807 Portage County was formed from Trumbull with a boundary that included what is now part of several counties. The principal settlements of the new county were at Atwater, Deerfield, Hudson, Mantua, Palmyra and Ravenna. The county contained probably less than one thousand inhabitants at these places, and a few smaller settlements. Opportunities for religious worship were few in these new communities and would have been almost wholly lacking in some of them but for the Connecticut Missionary Society, which sent missionaries to the western settlements. The Rev. David Bacon, one of these efficient missionaries, conceived the idea of obviating the need of missionary effort by founding a township, 'in which the religious element should be incorporated in its beginning, and be the controlling principle of its future growth.' The furtherance of his plan and his methods for carrying out the same have been related above. At the Semi-Centennial of the founding of the township a speaker said, 'Slight as the relation may appear to a hasty observer, the plan of the township has undoubtedly produced a marked, abiding, and beneficial effect upon the character of the inhabitants.' After another fifty years the truthfulness of that statement is not denied. But the most potent influence upon succeeding generations that have grown up in this community is that of a sturdy ancestry, people of a rugged faith and exacting life, sifted at New England at a time when God had sifted New England as he had Old England two centuries before. Our judgment upon the habits of life and the exactions of the Puritan Fathers and mothers may be that they were harsh and forbidding, but judge them by their children and children's children and their loyalty to re-

ligion, their exacting habits of Sunday observance, their insistence upon church attendance, and the maintenance of family worship have moulded their sons and daughters into strong, virtuous and efficient men and women."

The addresses at the centennial anniversary were arranged so as to cover the salient points of the history of the township. From these we note that a school was organized as early as 1810, and in 1813, a township library of seventy volumes of standard works was established. That library was maintained for many years and was finally merged into the present school



Public Park, Tallmadge.

library. In 1814 they had a postoffice and a lyceum was organized about that time, and a society of women for literary improvement in 1815. Was not that the first women's club in the Western Reserve? We find no record of any bridge whist clubs. In July, 1812, Mr. Whittlesey in a letter says: "There are forty houses in this town, all log. The settlers are much the most respectable of any in the Reserve." The men cut away the timber, and burned it, cleared the land and sowed wheat among the stumps, reaped the crops with a sickle, winnowed it by casting it up in the air, and sold it for twenty-five cents per bushel to buy salt at \$5.00 per barrel. Life was especially hard

for the women of the household, the carding, the spinning, and weaving, and the making of garments for both sexes were their labors in addition to the usual duties of housekeeping. Many were the distinguished men which Tallmadge sent forth to the useful walks of life, among them Leonard Bacon, the eminent divine; Julian Sturtevant, president of Illinois College, and one of the fathers of Congregationalism in the west; Elizur Wright, the most noted insurance actuary of the age; Col. Charles Whittlesey, famous as a geologist, archæologist and historian; Revs. Aaron Kinnie Wright, Philo Wright, Samuel Wright and many others equally deserving of notice.

The pioneers of Tallmadge looked upon the subject of education as secondary only to their religion, and the early schools of Tallmadge no doubt had a good share among the influences which made the Reserve what it is. Mr. Bacon in his plan for the town, arranged for an academy and a district school at the center, and a district school at each six corners. In 1810 the first school in Tallmadge was held in a little log building with Miss Lucy Foster as teacher. In 1836 there were 763 scholars in attendance in eleven school districts; in 1842, 922 pupils. Those were the days when the teachers boarded around and received very small salaries; one of whom taught for nine shillings per week and upon getting her pay for sixteen weeks' service, she sent the money back to Connecticut and received in return three tablespoons at \$3.00 apiece and nine teaspoons at \$1.00 apiece. These are all in the possession of her children and grand-children today. Tallmadge had the first deaf and dumb school in the state in 1827, an educated mute from the East being employed as a teacher. The third year, a state institution having been established, the twelve scholars were transferred to Columbus. A large frame building two stories in height was erected at the center in 1815, money was scarce and every one was expected to contribute either money or labor. The upper room was used as an academy, and the lower for a common or district school. This early academy was of high character and was the only school in northern Ohio of a grade higher than the district school. In 1870 a fine school building was erected on the North street and though this burned in 1876

another soon replaced it. A high school was established in 1878 with Miss Martha Maltby as the first principal. Twenty-six classes have graduated, and they number 230 members.

The Congregational church, as already related, was organized January 22, 1809. Rev. David Bacon gathered into his log cabin the few settlers every Sabbath and preached to them the gospel of Christ. Later, meetings were held in other houses or barns, then in the school houses and the academy building. In 1819 the pastor, Rev. M. Woodruff, preached a sermon from the words, "Behold now the place where we dwell is too strait for us." The academy building had grown too small for the congregations, a public meeting was held and \$4,600 was raised that year, and a building committee was appointed and architect and builder chosen. These latter went through the township, marking the best trees for material with which to build, and the twenty-fourth of December was set as the day for delivering the logs upon the ground where needed. There was much rivalry as to who should be the first on the ground Monday morning, and thus the work began with enthusiastic devotion. Earlier in this article we have related an incident connected with the erection of this building. In four years the building was completed and on the eighth day of December, 1825, it was dedicated. Thus after 18 years of struggle the Congregational church moved into its permanent home where it has abided for more than three-quarters of a century. This church has had fourteen pastors who have served loyally and well, and has received more than thirteen hundred persons into membership. A Sabbath school was organized in 1882, and continues at the present time. From the first this church was self-supporting and has been a liberal contributor of money to Christian work, and has given its thousands of dollars, its prayers, and many of its sons and daughters to the same grand work. About twenty-five young members have gone from the church into the ministry, and more than that number as wives of ministers. Many have gone as teachers in the South, or as missionaries to foreign lands. The present pastor is the Rev. P. D. Dodge.

A Methodist class was formed in 1825 with six members, and the church with thirty members was organized in 1832.

A building about fifty feet square was erected costing about \$1,500. In 1875, the present commodious church building was erected, Bishop Vincent having charge of the dedicatory exercises at which subscriptions were raised sufficient to cancel all indebtedness. Tallmadge and Monroe Falls have formed a circuit since 1887. The Methodist church in Tallmadge has done its part towards maintaining the high ideals of the founders of the township.

Of the military history of Tallmadge, there is much to be said, at least sixteen of the early settlers were veterans of the War of '76 of whom we have authentic record. At the opening of the War of 1812, but five years after the founding of the



P. D. DODGE.

town, the little settlement in Tallmadge was in grave and imminent peril from the Indians, but its people thought not of retreating eastward for safety, but realized that they formed part of the defensive outworks of the nation. Of these people of Tallmadge of 1812, it has been recorded that "like Cromwell they trusted in God, but looked well to their powder," and "were as ready to fight as to pray." A rifle company from Tallmadge was mustered into the service for six months, afterward returning home where they formed an important factor in the defensive strength of the frontier; the muster roll of this rifle company contained forty-eight names, officers and men. At least five residents of Tallmadge were in the general service, and five others who afterward came there to live. We have the names of 110 who served in the Civil War, and 64 from Tallmadge joined the National Guard Troops for 100 days. Three young men from Tallmadge have graduated from the United States Military Academy and one from the Naval Academy. Just a word of the faithful, efficient, and patriotic work of the women of Tallmadge in preparing and sending to hospitals and into the field quantities of needed supplies, and with great fortitude carrying on the work at home when many of the able-bodied men had gone forth in the service of their country. Two from Tallmadge were in the War with Spain and the

Philippine Insurrection. Thirty-one former soldiers now reside here.

COLONEL BENJAMIN TALLMADGE.

1754—1835.

Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, whose name is inseparably connected with early Ohio history, was the son of Reverend Benjamin Tallmadge and Susannah Smith. The Reverend Benjamin



COL. BENJAMIN TALLMADGE.

was born February 25, 1754, at New Haven, the original home of the American branch of the family, and graduated at Yale College in 1747. The son, the Colonel, entered Yale at the age of fifteen years, though it is said he was qualified at the age of twelve. He graduated with the class of 1773, being one of the public speakers. We find him at Boston, to which place he hurried after the battle of Bunker Hill, his commission as Lieutenant bearing date June 20th, 1776, and signed by Governor Trumbull. He was in the battles of Long Island and White Plains. His Regiment was the last to leave

Long Island and had barely reached New York in safety, when this daring youthful Lieutenant discovered his favorite horse had been left on Brooklyn Ferry. He was determined to save him, not however without being merrily saluted from the musketry of the enemy and finally by their field pieces when in mid-stream. We next find him referred to as Major Tallmadge, having been appointed to take the place of Major Wylls who had been taken prisoner by the British. The valor and the dash of this young officer had already presented itself favorably to General Wash-

ington, who appointed him, in the fall of 1776, as Commander of the first troop of the famous Second Regiment of Light Dragoons. This commission bore date of December 14th, 1776, and was signed by John Hancock, President.

"My own Troop," (he wrote at the time) "was composed entirely of *dapple grey horses*, which with black straps and with black bear skin holster covers look superb. I have no hesitation in acknowledging that I felt very proud of this command."

It is to be regretted that this pride was so soon cut short, as April 7th, 1777, he was appointed a field officer, and was engaged in every battle at this period of the war, at Short Hills and the Brandywine. In the battle of Germantown, at the command of Washington, he made skillful but ineffectual attempts to check the retreating Americans by repeatedly throwing his squadron across their path. When the Army went into Winter quarters at Valley Forge, Tallmadge received an appointment to the command of an advanced corps of observation, consisting of a picked detachment of Dragoons. At the Rising Sun Tavern one day, in full view of the British outposts, he was in consultation with a country girl he had sent to Philadelphia to obtain information of the enemy, when he observed the enemy's light horse bearing down on them at full speed. He caught the girl and threw her up behind him and made for his own lines amidst the firing of pistols, wheeling and charging throughout, while the girl sat immovable as a statue, the embodiment of feminine nerve. "I was delighted with this transaction," wrote the Major.

The scene of action for young Tallmadge now changes to the Hudson, having been placed in secret service work for Washington, and here began a lasting friendship between himself and his Commander-in-Chief. Washington was never caught off his guard, and learned to honor and love the young dragoon, as the many letters from Washington to Tallmadge so fully attest.

History records in detail the capture of the British spy, Andre, by Major Tallmadge, who was present at the execution.

On the 13th of May, 1783, the Society of the Cincinnati was inaugurated and Major Tallmadge chosen Treasurer of the Connecticut branch. The Major retired from the Army with the

rank of Colonel and returned to his father's home, where an ox was roasted in his honor. He married Mary Floyd, March 18, 1784, daughter of General William Floyd, who signed the Declaration of Independence, for which act the British offered one thousand pounds for his head. Then with his young wife he went to Litchfield, Connecticut, having purchased a home, the same being still in the possession of his descendants. Here the Colonel entertained Washington and also Lafayette, and here lived fifty years. From 1800 to 1816 he represented his district in Congress. He became the owner of much land in the Western Reserve, and as has been fully related, had a Township in Summit County, Ohio, named after him. He was also a member of the Ohio Company, that settled Marietta, though it cannot be ascertained that he ever came west.

FRANK TALLMADGE.

Frank Tallmadge, for fifty years a resident of Columbus, Ohio, is the eldest in Ohio in either lineal or collateral line from



FRANK TALLMADGE.

Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge, being the son of Theodore Wood and Ellen (Brasee) Tallmadge. Attended Hopkins Grammar School, New Haven, Connecticut, just one hundred years after Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge departed therefrom to enter Yale College. Also Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, from 1870 to 1872, since which date Mr. Tallmadge has been actively engaged in business in the City of Columbus, of later years attaining a large acquaintance as an Adjuster of Claims for Street and Interurban Tractions, as well as for many large industries in Central Ohio. Married May Hedges at Pittsburg. Two sons resulted from this union, the elder, Trafford Brasee married Ethel Thompson, of Terre Haute, Indiana, and they have one son, Trafford Wood. The younger

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son, Harold Hedges, was united in marriage to Agnes Lee Smith in January, 1907, and died at Columbus in March, 1908, leaving no issue. Mr. Tallmadge has long been interested in local historical matters, is a life member of the Ohio Historical and Archæological Society, and a member of the Society Sons of the American Revolution. He was the only representative of the family at the Tallmadge Centennial June, 1907. Mr. Tallmadge's home in Columbus is replete with valuable family relics and curios, some of the rooms being appointed and furnished after the style of the early Colonial days.



COUNCIL ROCK.

C. C. SHERWOOD.

Council Rock is located on a farm owned by Mr. E. M. Sherwood, five miles south-east of McConnelsville, county seat of Morgan county, on the east side of the Muskingum river. The visible portion of the rock is twenty feet in length and ten feet in height. The rock itself is one of the most prominent among many in its immediate vicinity and from its location one obtains a fine view of the valley and river in the foreground. It projects out of the base of the hillside and the size of the entire rock cannot be given or even estimated because the greater part is buried in the hillside. The pictures are outlined grooves apparently made by rubbing some hard substance or instrument on the rock surface. The outlines are about a quarter of an inch in depth and retain their distinctness owing to the fact that they weather in the same proportion as the rock itself weathers.

The pictures do not attract the attention of the passerby who is unacquainted with their existence, but upon close examination or observation they are clearly discernible and easily recognized. The noticeable position of the rock clearly indicates why it was the one chosen by a pre-historic people upon which to leave their handiwork. The rock has always been a favorite resting place because of the view it affords from its site. The rock moreover consists of very hard and durable sandstone, thereby presenting an excellent surface upon which the pictures could be carved. These pictures were first brought to my attention about twelve years ago and I have refrained from making their existence public, in order that I might, if possible, learn something of their origin and purpose before they would be disturbed by those less interested in their history. I am quite familiar with the kinds of animals which these pictures represent excepting one, the identity of which it is difficult to determine, it may be either a fox or a wolf, but the fact that it has a slender tail raises the question of doubt in my mind as to which it may be.

The existence of these pictures at this point raises the presumption that probably there was a great council meeting of Indians held at this place, as may be inferred from the circle in the center, which was a familiar symbol among the aborigines of a council meeting, namely a circle around a fire.

The pictures are placed in a rude circle around this central ring and may have represented the different tribes included in the council meeting, each Indian tribe having an animal as its



Council Rock.

representative or totem. One curious feature is that the white man is represented in one of these pictures.

It was not until lately that I decided to publish the facts of this discovery as I desired to wait until I had determined whether they were genuine Indian inscriptions. This region was a populous Indian country in the early days as indicated by the several Indian mounds and the finding of many mills or grinding stones in this neighborhood.

McConnelsville, Ohio.

JOHN SHERMAN.

GEORGE U. HARN.

[Mr. Harn is a native Ohioan, having been born at Wooster where he was trained in the printing and journalistic profession. When a mere lad he became the Columbus correspondent for the *Cincinnati Times-Chronicle*, now the *Times-Star*. Later he became one of the owners of the *Mansfield Herald*, with the business and editorial control of which he was connected for many years. Under President McKinley Mr. Harn was agent of the United States Internal Revenue Commission in Ohio and several southern states. Early in life Mr. Harn became acquainted with John Sherman, this acquaintance grew into an intimate friendship that lasted till the death of the Senator. Mr. Harn's article is unique in manner and gives some interesting side-lights upon the character of the great statesman and financier.—EDITOR.]

John Sherman was a Senator in Congress a longer time than any other person. He was elected to the Senate a greater num-



JOHN SHERMAN.

ber of times than any other person. Without excepting Thomas Hart Benton, he was a member of the senate longer than any other person. Benton was elected five consecutive times, but served a few days less than thirty years. Sherman was in attendance at the sessions of the Senate a greater number of days than any other person. He voted on a larger number of proposed federal laws than any other person. He attended the daily sessions of the upper chamber as dutifully as the ambitious

school boy attended school; his absence excited query and comment.

He was a representative in Congress under the administration of two presidents, Mr. Pierce and Mr. Buchanan; a Senator under seven, Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland and Harrison.

He was a candidate for public trust before the people four times, always successful; before the General Assembly of his native State six times, ever victorious. His long, eventful, useful and distinguished career would have been endorsed by the Legislature of Ohio by his election in 1898 to the Senate for the seventh time.

As the nominee of his party he was never defeated.

* * * *

John Sherman's paternal ancestors were public men, leaders of the people, statesmen, jurists.

They came from England, from Essex, to Connecticut and Massachusetts, long before liberty bell proclaimed the birth of another nation. Taylor Sherman, his grandfather, was a lawyer and a judge. Charles Robert Sherman, his father, followed in his footsteps. And John, the brother of the great General, was a common pleas judge, *pro tempore*, in northern Ohio, before he had attained his twenty-eighth year of age.

Taylor Sherman was a native of Norwalk, Connecticut. His wife, Elizabeth Stoddard, was a descendant of Anthony Stoddard, who emigrated from England to Boston in 1639. She died in Ohio in 1848.

Charles Robert Sherman, the father of John Sherman, was born at Norwalk, Conn., studied law with his father, was admitted to the bar in 1810, and the same year married Mary Hoyt, also of Norwalk, and a few months thereafter came to Ohio and located at Lancaster, where John Sherman and all his brothers and sisters, except the eldest, Charles T. Sherman, were born. He was elected a Supreme Judge of the State of Ohio in January, 1823, when but thirty-five years old. He died suddenly at Lebanon on the 24th of June, 1829, while holding a term of court, aged forty-one years. He left a family of eleven children, the youngest an infant a month old, the oldest, Charles T., aged eighteen. Judge Sherman's household was in decidedly straitened circumstances.

Thomas Ewing, who lived at Lancaster, a distinguished citizen of the state, but not until two years later a member of the Senate, luckily, was a friend of the Shermans. He adopted the third son, William Tecumseh, and procured his appointment as a cadet at West Point.

The eighth child, John, was six years old. A cousin of his father, named John Sherman, then recently married, a merchant at Mt. Vernon, took the fatherless boy home with him in 1831,



Mansfield Residence of John Sherman. Now Demolished.

where he remained four years at school. At the age of twelve he returned to Lancaster and became a pupil for two years at Howe's academy, at the end of which time he was prepared to enter the sophomore class at college. But his mother was unable to gratify his ambition to acquire a thorough and systematic education, and in 1837 he was compelled to accept the position, tendered him, through the efforts of his brother Charles, by Colonel Curtis, of junior rodman on the Muskingum Canal improvement. In the following spring the officer in charge of the work at the station

where the young man was employed resigned, and he was temporarily placed in charge, assuming a grave responsibility growing out of the construction of a work which was to cost \$300,000.

In the autumn of 1838 the Whig party was thrown out of power. A new Board of Public Works took charge of the improvement. Young Sherman was 16 years old. He was a Whig. His services were dispensed with. Andrew Jackson had given way to Martin Van Buren the year before. The American doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils was enforced.

John Sherman began the study of law in the office of his brother Charles T., at Mansfield, Ohio, when he was exactly 19 years old. He was admitted to practice May 11th, 1844, just after attaining his majority.

Mansfield was a village of about 1,100 inhabitants, the seat of Richland County, always reliably Democratic. The bar was able and distinguished. Among its members were Thomas W. Bartley, at that time Governor of Ohio, later a Judge of the Supreme Court, who was succeeded in the gubernatorial chair by his father, Mordecai Bartley; Jacob Brinkerhoff, a Judge of the Supreme Court, and eminent as a member of Congress; and others almost as well known.

On the list of law students were the names of William B. Allison, the Senator from Iowa, and the late Samuel J. Kirkwood, a federal cabinet officer and Governor of the State of Iowa.

During the ten years following young Sherman's admission to the bar he was active in the general practice as partner of his brother Charles, and at the same time took a deep interest in the political issues of the day. He found leisure, also, to engage in several financial ventures not connected with the law. One of them was the making and publication of a map of what was then Richland County. This he compiled from observations, his own surveys and search of the records. Many of the details, such as the source and course of the streams, he personally verified. He took the drawing to Pittsburg and had it lithographed. He expected great returns from its sales, as a well known deceased railroad operator did from the sales of a rat-trap. The

results were similar. That map is one of the rare relics of the present day.

In 1848 he attended the Philadelphia convention as a delegate from his Congressional District. When the convention was being organized a member arose and said that there was a young man present from a district so strongly Democratic that he could never hope to get office unless the convention gave him one, and,

"I, therefore, move," he said, "that John Sherman, from 'the Berks County District of Ohio, be made secretary of this convention."

A delegate from farther West immediately jumped to his feet and said that there was a young man present from the State of Indiana in precisely the same situation, and,

"I move to amend so that Schuyler Colfax be made assistant secretary of this convention."

Together, Sherman and Colfax walked up to the stand.

Mr. Sherman was elected a member of the House of Representatives in October, 1854, when he was 31 years old. The Thirteenth District was composed of the Counties of Erie, Huron, Morrow and Richland. It had previously been represented by a Democrat, Gen. William D. Lindsley, of Erie. At the election of 1852 three tickets had been voted for. The convention which nominated Sherman was known as the Anti-Nebraska convention. It was composed of members of the Democratic, the Whig and the Free Soil parties. It was held at Wilson's hall, at the village of Shelby. There were three leading candidates, Hon. Joseph M. Root, of Erie, who had already served three terms in the House, and subsequently served in the Ohio House of Representatives; Gov. Tom Ford, and John Sherman, both of Richland. A number of gentlemen, who subsequently became nationally known, were delegates to the convention. Gen. John W. Sprague, some years afterwards a potent factor in the politics of Washington territory, was a member. Great difficulty was experienced in harmonizing the several elements, but the result finally was the withdrawal of Ford, which cleared the atmosphere, and brought about the nomination of Sherman.

At the election he received 8,617 votes, whereas Lindsley got 5,974. It is noticeable that Erie, Huron and Morrow there-

after remained in the Republican columns, while Richland then, as now, was one of the strongholds of Democracy.

On July 13th, 1855, at Columbus, the first Ohio Republican convention was held. It nominated Salmon P. Chase for Governor. That was, substantially, the beginning of the Republican party of the nation.

On May 28th, 1895, at Zanesville, another Republican convention was held. It endorsed William McKinley for President. John Sherman was president of the first, and president of the last.



Library In Mansfield Residence of John Sherman.

Mr. Sherman took his seat in the House December 3rd, 1855. He forthwith became a leader in that body, and it was greatly through his influence that Gen. Banks was made Speaker of the Thirty-fourth Congress. Unexpectedly, in March of the year following, he was appointed a member of the Kansas investigating committee. When he received the telegram advising him of his appointment he was en route from Mansfield to Washington. Without completing his journey he returned to his home, and a few hours afterward was on his way to Kansas. The committee heard testimony at Lawrence, Leavenworth, Lecompton and Topeka.

Circumstances caused the writing of the report to devolve upon Mr. Sherman, and the report, when made public, intensified the antagonism in Congress, and was the basis of the Presidential campaign of 1856. His experiences and observations in Kansas fortified him in the position he had assumed on the paramount questions of the day.

Mr. Sherman was nominated, without opposition, and elected to Congress from the same district in 1856, 1858 and 1860. At the close of his second term in a body then having 237 members, a large majority of them being representative men, in all senses of the word, he was recognized as the foremost man in the House.

The Thirty-sixth Congress began its first session amid the excitement caused by the bold act of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. Mr. Sherman was a candidate for speaker. After eight weeks' struggle, when within three votes of election, he gave way and Mr. Pennington, of New Jersey, was chosen. Helper's Impending Crisis was the cause of his defeat. He then became chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means.

In the autumn of 1860 Mr. Sherman had been elected to Congress the fourth time, his fourth term extending from March, 1861, to March, 1863. William Dennison had been elected Governor of Ohio to succeed Salmon P. Chase, and assumed the office on January 9th, 1860. In the same month, Mr. Chase, who had been a Senator from Ohio from 1849 to 1855, had again been elected to the Senate as the colleague of Benjamin F. Wade, to succeed George E. Pugh, from the fourth of March, 1861. On his inauguration President Lincoln appointed Chase his Secretary of the Treasury. On the 12th of March, Governor Dennison notified the Ohio General Assembly, still in session, of the resignation of Chase as Senator, whereupon the Legislature proceeded to elect his successor.

Sherman remained at Washington. On the first day's balloting it was found that he had a majority over Governor Dennison, Gen. Robert C. Schenck and John A. Bingham. The caucus, however, was feverish. Without authority Sherman's name was suddenly withdrawn, but almost immediately again presented. He was finally chosen as the choice of the Republicans. On the joint vote of the Assembly the vote stood: Sher-

man, 76; William Kennon, Jr., 53 votes. Kennon had been a member of Congress in 1847-9 from the Belmont County District.

Mr. Sherman took his seat in the Senate for the first time on March 23rd, 1861. Thus he was in the same hour a member of the House and a member of the Senate.

Subsequently Gen. Garfield became a Senator while a member of the House, and President while a Senator.

On January 18th, 1866, Mr. Sherman was elected for six years from March 4th, 1867. Sherman had 91, and Allen G. Thurman 41 votes.

In January, 1872, he was elected for six years from March 4th, 1873. Sherman had 73 votes, Gen. Geo. W. Morgan 59, Gen. J. D. Cox 6, A. F. Perry 1, Gen. R. C. Schenck 1.

Mr. Sherman resigned the Senatorship March 5th, 1877, and became Secretary of the Treasury in President Hayes' cabinet. Hon. Stanley Mathews, Republican, was selected his successor for the unexpired portion of the term.

Sherman was re-elected to the Senate for six years from the 4th of March, 1881; re-elected for six years from March 4th, 1887; and re-elected for six years from March 4th, 1893. His last term would have expired March 4th, 1899, and there has been no good reason to believe he would not have been elected for the seventh time, had the course of events been other than as they occurred in 1897.

He, therefore, was elected to the House for eight years and served about six; was a member of the cabinet four years; and was elected to the Senate for 36 years and served 31 years, 11 months and 12 days. Counting the period he acted as Secretary of State in President McKinley's cabinet, he was in public life in four different offices almost 43 years.

Our hostile friends have repeatedly pointed out the undisputed fact that during a period of thirty years of stewardship in the most dignified legislative body, his colleague, for more than three-fourths of that time, had been a Democrat. When we consider that the State of Ohio ten times in succession has cast, except in 1892, when one of the 21 electors, James P. Seward,

of Richland County, voted for Grover Cleveland, a solid Republican electoral vote, this fact is the more singular.

When Mr. Sherman went to Washington as a Senator his colleague was that other great man, Benjamin F. Wade, who was thrice honored. In 1868 the Ohio Legislature was Democratic. It elected Allen G. Thurman as Mr. Wade's successor. Six years later, Mr. Thurman was re-elected. Then Hon. George H. Pendleton, of Cincinnati; Hon. Henry B. Payne, of Cleveland, and the Hon. Calvin S. Brice, of Lima, each serving a single term, became the great financier's colleagues. And it was in the evening of his life that for the first time, except in the case of Wade, that his colleague was of the same political faith, namely, Joseph Benson Foraker.

Looking backward, to the dawn of the century — what a noble list of stalwart statesmen has the Heart of the Nation given to the Senate.

With the exception of Judge Stanley Mathews, who served out Mr. Sherman's term, while he was Secretary of the Treasury, no other Republican, except Foraker, Hanna and Dick, has represented Ohio in the Senate since Wade retired.

Senator Sherman enjoyed the most distinguished honors that the House could confer, except that of Speaker; he had been chairman of the most important committees in the Senate, as well as President pro tempore; he was then at the head of the greatest department of the government, as Secretary of the Treasury, a post of more vital import to the whole people at that time than that of premier. Therefore his ambition to end a long public life as the chief magistrate of the nation was certainly not reprehensible. We are familiar with the result of that contest; with the dramatic nomination, the election, and the untimely taking off of the lamented Garfield.

His friends made a second effort in his behalf and failed. From that day he put wholly out of his mind all Presidential aspirations, yet there are not a few who will ever regret that he was unsuccessful.

What might have been the course of events had he been nominated in 1888?

In the light of events, it was clearly the mistake of Sher-

man's life for him to accept a place in McKinley's cabinet. He should have served out his term in the Senate and then retired. I personally know that at least one close friend advised him to that effect. From the moment he entered the cabinet his irritability was remarked by his life-long friends — by those who had no favors to ask and by those who had. The position of chief clerk to an aggressive executive could not be other than, to say the least, irksome; in this case the more so because of the fact that the latter had been inspired by the former, and, in a manner, had fallen heir to his mantle. Sherman had always held that the function of members of the cabinet was more than that of supervising clerks, and his theory was illustrated when he served as Secretary of the Treasury under President Hayes. In fact, when Cleveland was President, Mr. Sherman one day remarked to me that he would not act as a member of the cabinet under Cleveland because the members were "mere clerks."

* * * *

Throughout his life Mr. Sherman was able to recognize faces, but often unable to recall names. Many who approached him for favors which were not his to bestow, in the last days of his greatness, seized upon this increasing failing and magnified it into something worse, until the public grew to believe that he was no longer the semblance of his earlier self. Up and until the last he made no promises, outright or by inference, that he did not keep. This rule now seems to be old-fashioned and out of date.

Mr. Sherman's public life was consistent and pure. Most public men find it necessary to modify their views as time passes. His vote was found on the side of what was at the time at least the plurality, and has since become the majority, on the great questions that have been settled during the last five decades in our country's history.

As far back as 1856, in a debate on the submarine telegraph, opposing the granting of a monopoly to the corporation, he said:

"I can not agree that our government should be bound by any contract with any private incorporated company for fifty years."

Forty years later his bill to regulate trusts voiced the same sentiments.

While speaking on the tariff bill he said:

"The addition to the free list should be of articles not produced in this country, and whose free importation will not compete in any way with the great interests of any section of this country."

In his Zanesville speech, delivered in May, 1895, he iterated his views thus:

"We prefer to tax foreign productions rather than our own. We believe that the policy of protection should be extended to all productions impartially, to labor on the farm as well as in the workshops. We are opposed to the policy of protecting woollen manufactures and admitting wool free."

He was always opposed to any form of internal taxation for government purposes, except as a war measure. The pension list is a legacy of war. Internal revenues should be especially devoted to the payment of pensions.

In 1862 he favored a war tax "upon consumption and production rather than upon persons and property." In 1894 he had not changed his mind, as is evidenced by his opposition to the income tax.

* * * *

In the spring of 1879, while Mr. Sherman was Secretary of the Treasury, the Democratic press of Ohio, sought to influence public sentiment with a view of accomplishing his nomination for Governor of the State. At that time it was generally understood that he was a candidate for the presidency, and the object of the movement was to check his growing national popularity by an attempt, at least, to procure his defeat at the gubernatorial elections. Suddenly Mr. Sherman arrived at Mansfield. He came alone, and unannounced. His family had departed a few days prior for Europe.

His presence at his home quickly became known, and the leading citizens, without regard to party, decided upon a serenade.

About midday newspaper correspondents from nearby cities dropped into Mansfield, among them a plenipotentiary from a

leading Cincinnati journal, with whom the writer had some acquaintance. He wanted a verbatim report of the expected speech, but could not write stenography. Finally a shorthand writer in the person of a young man, the private secretary of a leading manufacturer, the late Michael D. Harter, was discovered and employed.

At night-fall the band, followed and preceded, by hundreds of people, proceeded to Mr. Sherman's hotel. The committee on arrangements had procured a store box and placed it on the ban-



Library in Washington Residence of John Sherman.

quette at the hotel, to be used as a speaking platform. Meantime the stenographer had been stationed in the hallway of the ladies' entrance to the hotel, and the press congratulated itself that it had the affair well in hand.

In answer to calls from the people Mr. Sherman soon appeared accompanied by a citizen, who mounted the improvised rostrum, and went through the formality of an introduction of our distinguished townsman. It was evident that the Secretary of the Treasury was more or less surprised, and greatly pleased, with the spontaneous and enthusiastic ovation.

He began his remarks thus:

"My Countrymen" —

It is noticeable in nearly all of Mr. Sherman's speeches from the stump, that he used the words "my countrymen" when addressing his hearers. And then continued:

"I am very happy to be again in your midst, to see your faces, and to greet you as friends. I never felt like making an apology for coming before you until now. I found when I arrived in my old home the papers said I came West seeking the nomination for Governor. I came purely on private business, to repair ruined fences, and look after impaired property," and then he forthwith entered into an explanation of the financial policy of the administration.

The speaking exercises having been finished, the correspondents and the stenographer rushed to the telegraph office, where the stenographer for an hour or more wrestled with his notes, and at last announced that he was unable to intelligibly translate them, whereupon the writer sat down, and with the help of those present, recorded what the speaker had said. The phrase about "repairing ruined fences" was pounced upon by the press of the country, and to the present day it turns up constantly upon every hand.

Mr. Sherman then told the literal truth. Fences were being built on the Stewart farm, half a mile east of the town, a farm inherited from her father by Mrs. Sherman, as well as on Mr. Sherman's farm, now within the corporation limits, and now mostly laid out in residence lots.

It may be interesting to follow the evolutions of this fence repairing incident. A year later, on March 31st, 1880, when Mr. Sherman's chances for the Presidential nomination were thought to be good, on his annual return to his home, he was greeted by perhaps ten thousand people, hundreds of them strangers, from Ohio and other states. The event was grand and one long to be remembered. He spoke on the same spot, and from a similarly improvised platform. His opening remarks were as follows:

"Fellow Citizens and Fellow Townsmen: — I noticed in coming here that some of the papers are discussing why I came to Mansfield. When, a year ago, I visited you, I innocently said

I came to repair my fences. That was the simple truth; but thanks to my very good friend here before me, Mr. Knight (his farmer), my fences are in very good repair."

And they remained in good repair.

The writer is informed that Mr. Sherman recounts this incident in his book. He never read the book and hence is not posted on his version of the affair. The foregoing is a statement of fact, which would be verified by the late Chauncey Newton, were he alive.

This "political classicism," as Mr. Howells, of the *Ashtabula Sentinel*, calls it, has become of world-wide note, and is used almost as frequently in Great Britain and elsewhere, especially where English is spoken, as here.

* * * *

One evening, years ago, I went up to the Sherman house on an errand. I did not expect to meet strangers there. To my surprise when ushered into the library I found a member of the President's cabinet, a distinguished member of Congress, who afterwards became the Governor of a great State, and later a still more eminent national figure; the chairman of a State committee, who had won two victories; and a candidate on the State ticket*. My impulse was to withdraw, but I was prevailed upon to remain. The conversation, momentarily interrupted by my entrance, was resumed, when I discovered the subject under discussion was the selection of a State Executive Committee. It had been customary in Ohio for years for the Republican State convention to designate, by Congressional Districts, the several members of the State Central Committee, and for the candidates on the State ticket to submit to this committee a list of names from which to select the Executive Committee.

The member of the cabinet proposed this name and that; the chairman of the committee suggested this person and that person; the candidate for a State office thought this gentleman and that one especially available, and so on; and the gubernatorial aspirant finally wanted to know what the functions of the Executive Committee were, anyway, which the cabinet officer explained. The

*Foster, McKinley, Hahn, etc.

merits, and the demerits, of the several gentlemen whose names had been proposed, their geographical location; their political prestige, availability, fitness, and-so-forth, were pretty generally, and unsparingly, and with the cheerful frankness said to be common at sewing circles, criticised and canvassed.

During all of this interesting four-cornered conversation the host spoke scarcely a word. He smoked a pretty good cigar and seemed to get a great deal of satisfaction out of it. They all smoked, and they all talked — except the host.

Presently it seemingly suddenly dawned upon the subsequent Governor and President that the head of the party of the State had made no suggestions, whereupon he interrogatively said:

"Senator, by the way, you have proposed no one for this committee. You, I presume, will be a candidate before the next Legislature for election to the Senate. It is right, and proper, that your wishes, as to the personnel of the committee, should be considered. Who do you want to become members of it?"

The Senator replied :

"Oh, never mind about me. I have made it a rule during my entire public career to never propose, or care, who should serve on committees of this character. Besides that, my idea is that we are about to try to elect a Legislature and a State ticket, and not a United States Senator. The election of a Senator will occur next January."

That was all.

The next day the opposition press contained scare headlines, followed by columns of leaded type, graphically telling how John Sherman had again thrown his opponents, and declaring that he was again on top!

* * * . *

There seemed to exist between William Tecumseh, in the family fondly called "Cump," up to the hour of his death, and John, a stronger love than between the other brothers. This was perhaps because the lines of these two men ran more in similar orbits. From a very early time, from their struggling boyhood days, they carried on a correspondence, down to the death of the General, and the soldier was a guest at the home of the statesman often, and as frequently as the public and private

demands upon his time would permit. This correspondence, through a period of more than a half century, has been preserved, arranged in proper order, bound in book form, and was kept in a fireproof vault at the Mansfield house, and a part of it only has appeared in print.

General Sherman once said, in reply to a request to deliver a lecture under the patronage of a lyceum bureau, that he would not do so for a fee of a thousand dollars. The Senator was always of the same mind. While he had ever been ready to speak for the benefit of his party, or to the veterans of the Sherman brigade, an organization which he was chiefly instrumental in raising and equipping at the breaking out of the war, and by which he was honored annually by being elected its presiding officer, the occasion cannot be called to mind on which he delivered a speech for pay, at least since he ceased the practice of law prior to the beginning of the war.

* * * *

John Sherman and Miss M. S. Cecilia Stewart were married at Mansfield on the 31st of August, 1848. She was the only child of the late Judge Stewart, of Mansfield, who immigrated to Ohio from Pennsylvania. They never had children. They adopted a friendless little girl who grew to womanhood and was married to an estimable gentleman at the Federal Capitol some years since. There was seldom a day since they began house-keeping when the home in Ohio, or that at Washington, was not brightened by one or more of their numerous nephews or nieces. Years ago Mrs. Gen. Miles and Mrs. Senator Don. Cameron, daughters of Judge Charles T. Sherman, and later the General's sons and daughters, or the children of Mr. Sherman's other sisters and brothers, were always welcome.

Mrs. Sherman was the ideal wife of a great man. It cannot be remembered that she ever interested herself to her husband's detriment in affairs of State. She was a lady of rare accomplishments, fortified with perhaps the longest, and, it may be said, the most trying experience in public life covering the most exciting period in our country's history. She was capable of filling every social position. There were few ladies in the land better qualified to perform the varied and manifold duties incumbent

upon the wife of so distinguished a statesman. Her judgment was always acute and accurate. Mr. and Mrs. Sherman for nearly half a century were the closest of friends and companions. She sanctioned what he approved; he was gratified with what she enjoyed.

It is said that when she first went to Washington, shortly after her marriage, that a lady of much social experience, the wife of a Senator from Kentucky, solemnly warned her that if she was seen constantly with her husband that the gossips would certainly talk about her. Being young and of a retiring disposition, she felt it a great hardship that she could not enjoy the society of her husband in public with impunity.

Mrs. Sherman's tastes were eminently domestic. She was a thorough housewife. The details of her home were always her personal care. Mrs. Sherman was a member of Grace Episcopal church at Mansfield.

Mr. Sherman built his house at Mansfield in 1849, and remodeled it about thirty years afterward. It was a plain, substantial two-story brick edifice with a mansard roof, and had a wide gallery at the main entrance, and was located near the center of twenty-odd acres of land, surrounded by a fine forest, many of the trees of which, particularly the buckeyes, having been planted by Mr. Sherman himself. The house was built on perhaps the highest ground in the city, on the most desirable residence street.

In the rear of the house was maintained a fine garden, and extensive grapery and quite a large orchard. There was scarcely a berry, fruit or vegetable, indigenous to the latitude of Ohio, that was not grown on these grounds, as many of the noted men of the country can testify from personal experience. Both Mr. and Mrs. Sherman gave the garden, the vineyard and the orchard their careful attention. In the summer, and the autumn, the latter was especially busy "putting up" the harvest of the vineyard and the orchard, and a generous quantity found its way to the table of the house at Washington.

The grounds were one of the beauty spots of this section of the Buckeye State. The city of Mansfield sets upon as many gently rising hills as the Roman capital. The country round

about is undulating and picturesque. When Mr. Sherman bought that little plat of land it was half a mile in the country. Now the city has grown nearly a mile beyond, to the margin of Sherman-Heineman park, a fifty acre breathing place presented to the city of Mansfield jointly by Mr. Sherman and Mr. A. J. Heineman. Across Park avenue west, up and down which thoroughfare the electric cars now race, is the palatial home of the widow of another man of national fame, the late Hon. Michael D. Harter, once the champion of honest money in the House of Representatives.

There were finer houses, more costly homes, but no nobler grounds than those of the Shermans. And the people were ever welcome to enjoy them. Each year they were the scene of fetes and gatherings for the benefit of the churches and the charities. Presidents, governors, senators, past, present and future; plain citizens, diplomats, editors, soldiers; politicians of high and low degree, some bent on good, others on evil, have sat upon the broad gallery.

Murat Halstead was caught one day in the garden eating gooseberries. He explained that those berries were larger than any raised in Europe and not so sour. A few days afterward, Mr. Halstead's newspaper, in no ambiguous words, and in Halstead's inimitable style, thundered forth the policy of the party.

Mansfield is certainly the highest city in the state. The Sherman house was perhaps the most elevated residence in the state. The town is located on the crest of the ridge which stretches from the northeast corner southwesterly through Ohio. Waters rising four or five miles west of the town flow into the sea through Lake Erie, and those rising within the corporation empty into the ocean by way of the Ohio and the Father of Waters. The Sherman house was about 1450 above the sea, 1018 above the Ohio at Cincinnati, and 885 above Lake Erie. The highest knobs in the state are in Logan county, 1540 feet above the ocean, 1108 above the Ohio and 975 above the Lake, and the next highest about six miles west of Mansfield, being 1475, 1043 and 910 feet respectively above the sea, the river and the lake.

The heirs of Senator Sherman in 1904 demolished the house and disposed of the real estate in the form of building lots.

* * * *

John Sherman's stump speeches, as everybody knows, were didactic. They usually read better than they sounded. Often he did not readily bring forth the word he sought to utter. A stranger listening to him for the first time, not informed of his abilities, would imagine, at the beginning, that he was going to fail. No one can justly claim for him the talent of the forensic orator. However, as he advanced, he might become pathetic, and often really eloquent. His speaking was not a physical effort. His gestures were few. His vocabulary, to be understood by the most common of the powerful average people, does not require reference to the books. His hearers came for instruction, not amusement. He seldom told an anecdote. The attention of his audience was held solely because of the wisdom that dropped from his lips. He always had the loyal support of the middle classes, the well-to-do, the prosperous farmers, the brain and sinew of the commonwealth. The frugal German-American was ever his friend. They heard, they understood, they acted.

All of his speeches were carefully prepared. They were dictated to a stenographer, in ample time before the date of delivery. I have had the pleasure of seeing a great many of his speeches in the stenographer's long-hand after the author had revised them. It was very rarely that he altered a phrase or a word, either before the manuscript went to the printer or at the time of delivery. He spoke the same speech he had composed, almost word for word. It occurred more than once that newspaper men sought to prove that he didn't say what he had written. With the printed speech in hand they have followed him, sentence by sentence, paragraph by paragraph, and were amazed at the accuracy of his memory.

About twenty-five years ago, the beginning of the era of wonderful modern journalism, the press associations began to ask for advance copies of his key-notes. He then commenced the practice of having them put into type a few days prior to

their delivery. Since that this custom seems to have been generally adopted by public men.

After he became the most potent factor in the cabinet of President Hayes, and it was understood that he was a candidate for nomination for the presidency, the leading and most successful opposition newspaper in Ohio, failing to unearth scandal with which to drag him down, began a crusade against him on the frivolous score of selfishness. He was denounced as an icicle, and branded as the incarnation of coldness. Every man who met him can refute these charges. No newspaper man ever approached him on a news errand and left him chilled, unless he merited chilling. The truth is that Mr. Sherman was of easier access to the press and the people than, perhaps, any other distinguished man at Washington.

Senator Sherman's campaign speeches often sparkled with original axioms, simple and trenchant. Once, after he had made a noted effort, a gentleman compiled and brought to me over half a hundred sentences of that character, but a small per centum of which was made up of more than fifteen words. Some of them were used as the mottoes of the campaign.

There are few great men who can, or do, confine themselves to as limited a vocabulary when addressing the public. This was one, doubtless, of the reasons for his popularity with the average common people. They heard, or read; they understood, they approved.

When it is remembered that his education in youth was limited to about six years, in the schools of the frontier, and that his learning was acquired chiefly by observation, reading, and reflection, a study of this subject ought certainly to be interesting.

To illustrate: His speech delivered at the Ohio Republican State Convention at Zanesville in May, 1895, the last great effort meant to define the policy of the party, was brief — composed, eliminating the proper nouns and figures, of about sixteen hundred and thirty words. There were substantially three subjects, with which he was more familiar than with any other three questions, and with which no man in America was,

perhaps, more familiar, viz: a retrospect of his party's achievements; the tariff question; the money issue.

Break this speech into its component parts. We find he used 532 words to express the ideas evolved, employing each one an average of more than three times; and that a large per centum of the 532 words were of the same root, varied as verbs, adverbs or nouns. More than one thousand of the words spoken were monosyllables, and over 350 were dissyllables. He employed no word beginning with J, H or Z, while K loaned him but one, Q two, Y only three, and V two; thus confining himself, almost exclusively, to words from but 19 letters of the alphabet. He repeated the adjective "the" 145 times, the preposition "of" 109 times, the conjunction "and" 59 times, "in" 46 times, "is" 34 times, "a" 28, "we" 29, and so on. He employed 90 words twice, thirty-odd thrice, and a great many others oftener. On that occasion, at least, he was partial to the letters T and P, because he drew on the columns of the former for thirty to express 266 thoughts, and on the latter for 72 with which to voice 130.

The ninth letter of the alphabet was uttered as a pronoun of the first person ten times, but not once egotistically, as the context clearly proves.

It was not necessary, in order to understand Mr. Sherman's meaning, to refer to a glossary, or consult an up-to-date dialect lexicon. Every word of the speech can be found in the earliest English dictionary.

Following is a complete alphabetical list of the words used in the Zanesville speech with the number of times used:

	A.	2-alone	already
60-and		2-amount	always
28-a		2-adopt	among
15-all		abroad	ample
11-as		act	announce
8-are		accomplished	annually
7-at		after	anywhere
4-an		additional	another
4-any		admitting	appeal
3-action		adopted	applied
2-also		ages	articles

ascending	2-contracted	4-debt
assigned	2-chief	2-duty
assurance	2-condition	2-duties
available	2-credit	2-did
<hr/>		
36 words used 173 times.	2-common	2-during
	2-currency	2-dollar
	called	2-dollars
	cannot	2-declared
B.	capital	2-demand
11-be	carefully	2-domestic
9-but	carried	daily
9-by	carry	death
3-been	cents	dead
3-before	choice	declare
3-believe	cheapening	degradation
2-based	civil	demand
2-both	citizens	denomination
2-bi-metallic	coined	denounce
back	coining	designate
bank	concert	deserving
battle	confer	diminished
bearer	conferred	discharged
bearing	confessedly	discipline
belong	confess	disposed
beneficial	conditions	disturbed
beyond	congratulate	developed
bands	congress	diversified
brothers	commerce	demonetization
bulk	commission	
bullion	commodities	
<hr/>		
21 words used 56 times.	composed	30 words used 57 times.
	cooperate	
	copy	E.
C.	corner	5-every
5-country	creed	3-each
4-candidate	courage	2-either
4-coin	course	3-equal
4-commercial	court	equally
4-convention	current	equality
3-can		effected
3-change	50 words used 80 times.	enemies
2-coins		entirely
2-coinage	D.	elect
2-cheaper	2-debts	elected
2-could	3-do	election
		especially

erring	2-governor	influence
ever	get	intelligence
exchange	generally	intelligent
executive	gentlemen	interest
extended	greatly	interests
excess		impartial
	8 words used 33	impartially
20 words used 29	times.	importance
times.		impress
	H.	invited
F.	16-have	
18-for	7-has	28 words used 151
9-from	6-had	times.
4-favor	4-honor	
2-faith	4-hope	J.
2-farm	3-high	None.
2-first	2-highest	
2-forever	2-heartly	K.
2-free	2-honestly	2-kind
2-fail	hardship	
2-fixed	here	1 word used 2
faithfully	home	times.
fall	hotch-potch	
false		L.
farms	13 words used 51	3-labor
favours	times.	3-large
fate	I.	3-last
fifty	46-in	3-low
firm	34-is	2-lowest
flag	16-it	2-let
follow	10-I	larger
forty	7-if	largely
fourteen	7-its	lay
force	3-international	lead
foreign	3-industries	legal
fractional	2-increase	life
friends	2-indispensable	like
fundamental	2-important	limited
	2-issues	limitation
27 words used 62	2-into	limits
times	increases	logical
	industry	love
G.	including	
11-great	indicate	18 words used 28
8-gold	indivisible	times.
4-good		

promise			success
promised			supplied
promote	14-silver	S.	supreme
propose	4-should		system
proposition	4-standard		
protecting	2-stand		
protective	2-selecting		48 words used 84
provided	sacred		times.
provincial	sanction		
purchased	scheme		T.
purposes	section		
purchases	seek		145-the
	sentiment		28-to
	shrieks		14-this
	silent		11-that
	single		11-them
	slaves		9-their
	specie		8-those
	same		6-they
	stamp		5-than
	still		5-tariff
	stone		2-there
	subjects		2-these
	superior		2-then
	sums		2-transaction
	surviving		tax
			taxation
	8-state		today
	4-soldiers		together
	4-such		taken
	2-small		tender
	2-support		temptations
	same		therefore
	say		thank
	secure		think
	selection		through
	senator		time
	several		treat
	since		trust
	similar		turning
	skilled		two
	spite		
	so		
	sound		30 words used 266
	staple		times.
	stood		
	storms		

promise
promised
promote
propose
proposition
protecting
protective
provided
provincial
purchased
purposes
purchases

72 words used 130
times.

Q.

quantity
quantities

2 words used 2
times.

R.

6-ratio
3-roll
2-redemption
2-repudiation
rather
rational
redeemable
reduced
reliance
repealed
rest
result
revenue
right
rights
reform
resumption

17 words used 26
times.

S.
14-silver
4-should
4-standard
2-stand
2-selecting
sacred
sanction
scheme
section
seek
sentiment
shrieks
silent
single
slaves
specie
same
stamp
still
stone
subjects
superior
sums
surviving
8-state
4-soldiers
4-such
2-small
2-support
same
say
secure
selection
senator
several
since
similar
skilled
spite
so
sound
staple
stood
storms

success
supplied
supreme
system
48 words used 84
times.

T.

145-the
28-to
14-this
11-that
11-them
9-their
8-those
6-they
5-than
5-tariff
2-there
2-these
2-then
2-transaction
tax
taxation
today
together
taken
tender
temptations
therefore
thank
think
through
time
treat
trust
turning
two

30 words used 266
times.

U.	2-what	Z.
5-upon	2-who	None.
4-us	2-whole	
3-under	2-world	
3-Union	2-wool	Proper Nouns.
unabridged	2-workshops	Atlantic
unblemished	waits	2-American
unskilled	want	Australia
use	ways	Democrat
united	well	2-Democratic
until	weight	Europe
universal	were	2-Grant
utilized	whether	Lincoln
unquestioned	whose	Mexico
urged	within	2-McKinley
	whiskey	North
	wish	6-Ohio
	wisdom	Populists
	widows	12-Republican
	worthy	5-Republicans
	woolen	2-Sherman
	workingman	Sheridan
	whoever	South
		United States
		Wilderness

* NOTE—The figures to the left of words indicate the number of times they were used. The remaining words were used once only.

* * * *

The story has been related many times at Mansfield by the old citizens that in early life he made a rule to lay aside out of his earnings \$500 a year. No matter what his income

might be his expenditures were regulated accordingly. Thus was laid the foundation of his competency. Those who were best informed know that a political life, at least in the latter part of it, had been a detriment to him, from a money-getting standpoint. Twice he reluctantly became a candidate for re-election to the Senate, and then only at the last hour, and because of the earnest urging on the part of leading citizens throughout the land. In this day of frenzied office seeking this may cause some to marvel, but it is nevertheless true.

When less than thirty years of age Mr. Sherman took a deep interest in the projected Ohio railways, particularly those subsequently built through the northern part of the state. At his death he was actively interested in the Fort Wayne road. Later in life, and when one of his terms as Senator was about to expire, he was offered the presidency of one of the greatest railway corporations in America, the Northern Pacific, at a salary many times that of a United States Senator.

* * * *

Mr. Sherman frequently told, with pleasure, of his first meeting with Mr. Lincoln. It occurred at Willard's hotel in the month of February, 1861. Mr. Sherman called upon the president-elect immediately after his arrival. Lincoln grasped his hand and said:

"So you are John Sherman?"

He inspected the tall Buckeye from crown to sole.

"Well, I'm taller than you, anyway; let's measure."

They got their backs together. Mr. Sherman said that Lincoln was considerably the taller.

* * * *

After a score or more of years have matured my judgment, I want to relate the following incident:

It happened one morning that I was in Mr. Sherman's K street library at Washington, when a gentleman came in and said:

"Senator, the President has sent William Howard Taft's name to the Senate."*

*The office was that of Internal Revenue Collector.

With the impertinence of youth, I remarked,
"Mr. Sherman, you would not have recommended Taft
if he had not been the son of his father."

Quickly, and heatedly, came the reply:

"That is not so, Taft is a capable young man; he will make
his *mark*."



JOHN STEWART

PIONEER MISSIONARY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

N. B. C. LOVE, D.D.

The Methodist Episcopal Church from its organization in 1773 was missionary in its spirit. It made continuous efforts towards the conversion of the whites and blacks, but the red men of the forest were passed by. The minutes of the annual conferences, at the beginning of the last century, reported in separate columns the numbers of whites and blacks in each society, but no figures for the Indians.



N. B. C. LOVE

The Methodist Episcopal Church was aggressive in the older States and passed into the Northwest Territory and the greater West and South. In the providence of God John Stewart was the apostle to the heathen Wyandots, and the founder of the first Methodist Episcopal Mission among the heathen.

Before the advent of Stewart the most cruel and bloody practices obtained among the Wyandots. In this respect they were not different from the other Indian tribes of the Northwest. The burning of Col. Crawford, when a prisoner, is evidence of this. Even the women and children participated in torturing him. We need not repeat the story here. The Wyandots were the leaders in this savage deed. Between-the-Logs, it is claimed, was a participant, and such were the people to whom Stewart carried the gospel of love and peace.

The Wyandots for a long period stood politically at the head of an Indian Federation of tribes and so were recognized by the United States Government in the treaties made with the Indians of the old Northwest Territory.

The names of chiefs of the Wyandot nation appear first prominently on the treaty made at Greenville in 1795 between

the Government and the Indians, Gen. Wayne acting for our Government.

While the itinerant Bishops Asbury and McKendree and their worthy helpers were denied the honor of inaugurating the great missionary movement among the heathen, they are to be honored for their unselfishness in giving their co-operation and support to John Stewart, an humble mulatto layman, who had been converted through their preaching, and whom they recognized as having received the call of God.



BETWEEN-THE-LOGS.

John Stewart's parents were free people of color who resided in Powhattan County, Vt. They were Baptists, and of good repute. John went to winter school while a boy at home, and was more favored in this than many negro boys. While in his early manhood he learned the dyer's trade and earned some money, but a highwayman robbed him of all. The fear of destitution worried him, for he felt that to be poor was to be in disgrace, and he purposed to commit suicide. Hesitating in this, he drank intoxicants to drown his sorrow, until a kind Christian friend persuaded him

to desist and reform. Although failing several times in his efforts, he at last succeeded.

He listened to the preaching of the Gospel by the Methodists and was converted. Finding no Baptist Society convenient, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church. Here he was at home. The prayer and class meeting were delightful to him, and all his prejudices against the Methodists gave way. He also prospered in business and saved some money. The grandfather of Bishop McCabe was his class leader and personal friend.

Stewart has been described to me by two pioneers who knew him well. He was a light mulatto, about five feet, eight inches high, weighing about one hundred and forty pounds; well formed,

erect in carriage, easy and graceful in movement. His features were more European than African. He had a tenor voice, and was gifted in song.

He often went into the fields or forests to meditate, to study the Bible and to pray. On Sabbath evening he was in the edge of the woods by the side of a rivulet that ran into the Ohio, when a voice from the sky seemed to say to him in audible tone, "Thou shalt go to the Northwest and declare my counsel plainly." As he listened and looked, a peculiar halo appeared to fill the Western sky. This summons was repeated. The first was in the voice of a man, the second that of a woman. That he was honest in the thought of this calling there need be no doubt.

A deep impression was made on his astonished mind. He had no thought of preaching; he felt he would obey fully by teaching and exhorting, but when a friend told him he was called to preach he rebelled, feeling he was not prepared not worthy. He resolved to go to Tennessee, but sickness came to him, and for awhile his life was despaired of, but finally recovering, the impression that it was his duty to go to the Northwest was intensified.

The Northwest, beyond a fringe of settlements, was a vast illimitable wilderness, occupied by savage beasts and as savage men. He resolved to go, not for gain, nor for fame, nor for pleasure, but to save souls from the bondage of heathen darkness. The risks were many, but he felt that an unseen hand was over him. Starting on his journey, he knew not whither he went any more than Abraham of old. His friends tried to persuade him not to go, and having started, those whom he met in the settlements also tried such persuasion, or laughed at his folly, but to no purpose. The red men of the forest, neglected by the Government and despised, feared and hated by the frontiersmen, were upon his mind. He believed they were dear to the heart of Jesus.

He went on, keeping towards the Northwest, wading streams, camping alone at night, unarmed in the primeval forests, enduring hunger and many other hardships. After the severe toil of days and exposure of nights, he came to the vil-

lage of the Delawares—on the headwaters of the Sandusky River. The Indians extended to him the hospitality of their cabins. Here he held religious worship, singing, praying and telling the story of the dying love of Jesus until late at night, then, retiring, he fell asleep, feeling that his mission was ac-



John Stewart Listening to the "Voice" which Called Him to Preach to the Wyandots. From a Painting by Rev. N. B. C. Love, D.D.

complished and that he would start on his homeward journey in a day or two. With the dawn of the morning, however, he awoke and heard an inward voice telling him to go farther. Having inquired the way, he started again on his pilgrimage.

The first afternoon he came to the cabin of a white family

and was refused admittance by the wife until the return of her husband. Upon the husband's arrival, while supper was preparing, Stewart sang some sweet songs, which charmed the backwoodsman and his family. He offered to hold services at night, and the boys were sent post haste by the father to the few residents in the vicinity. Stewart had about a dozen in his congregation to whom he expounded the Gospel, and sang Methodist hymns, to their great entertainment. The Divine Spirit was in the word and several were awakened and saved. Among the number were the daughters of the home in which he was entertained. He tarried for several days, holding services at night and forming a class.

In a few days he found himself in Upper Sandusky, an entire stranger, without an introduction to any one. He called at the home of William Walker, sub-Indian agent, who thought him a fugitive from Slavery, but Stewart in a sincere, artless manner gave his history, including his Christian experience. Mr. Walker was convinced, and gave him words of encouragement, directing him to the cabin of Jonathan Pointer.

Pointer was a black man who had been stolen by the Wyandots when he was a child. He could converse fluently in both the English and Wyandot languages. Here was a providential helper in opening an "effectual door" to the Divinely appointed missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Pointer was not favorably impressed with Stewart, and tried to dissuade him from his undertaking by telling him of the efforts of the Roman Catholic missionaries and their complete failure. He did not know that "the kingdom of heaven cometh not by observation." Indeed, Jonathan Pointer was as much a heathen as the Wyandots, and was at that time preparing to participate in an Indian dance and religious feast. Stewart wanted to accompany him, and Jonathan reluctantly consented. Stewart as a visitor sat in silence and witnessed the dance. When an interval of rest occurred, he asked the privilege of addressing them on the purpose of his visit which, with their consent, he did, Jonathan interpreting and rather enjoying the notoriety it gave him.

Here was a scene worthy the brush of the artist. The first

heathen audience of hundreds of Indian warriors in war paint and gaudy costumes listening to a messenger of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Jonathan, too, in paint and feathers, while a mild-mannered mulatto told them the purpose of his visit. Here was Christian courage equal to that of Fr. Marquette or any of the old Jesuit Fathers of the Roman Catholic Church. In this Stewart evinced extraordinary courage and faith in the Heavenly Father.

At the conclusion of his address he invited all to shake hands with him, and on motion of Chief Bloody Eyes, all passed by in single file and did so. An appointment was made at Jonathan's cabin for the next evening, and by the light of the cabin fire Stewart preached his first sermon. This was late in November, 1816.

Stewart met the Wyandots daily, Jonathan interpreting and saying: "What Stewart says may be true, he did not know, he only translated fairly." Many were greatly interested and a few awakened. The efforts of Stewart to secure the conversion of his interpreter were unceasing, and his reward soon came in an open profession on the part of Jonathan, who became a firm, outspoken believer. The soil of his jovial African heart was thin and did not bring forth perfect and matured fruit. He was naturally vain and sometimes was given to drink, but God used him as one of "the foolish things of this world to confound the wise." He was demonstratively pious in church.

The missionary met with opposition from the whites who sold "fire water" to the Indians. They maligned him, persecuted and tried to scare him away: They said, "he was no minister, a fraud, a villain," and some of the leading chiefs became his enemies. Dark days had come. The muttering of a storm was heard, but nothing daunted, Stewart sang, prayed, and going from cabin to cabin found those who received him and his words gladly. The agent, William Walker, Jonathan and a few other leaders were his friends. Indians prejudiced by Catholic teaching joined the opposition. His Bible, they said, "is not the true Bible," but these questions being left to Mr. Walker, the decision was favorable to John Stewart. Walker said there was little difference between the Catholic and Protestant Bibles, one

being a translation from the Latin, the other from the Greek and Hebrew, and both from the same original documents; and that any layman called of God had the divine right to preach and teach. Thus through this layman and Government officer, Stewart was helped in his work.

The Wyandots were superstitious, believing in magic, witchcraft, religious dancing and feasting. These things Stewart opposed with Scripture and reason, and gave any who desired the opportunity to defend them. John Hicks, a chief, undertook this. "These things," he said, "are part of the religion of



Rev. J. B. Finley Preaching to the Wyandot Indians
at Upper Sandusky.

The black man, Jonathan Pointer, interpreting.

our forefathers handed down from ancient times, and the Great Spirit was the author of them, the same being adapted to their needs."

Mononcue, then a heathen, endorsed what Hicks said. He also said, "The Bible is the white man's book and Jesus the white man's teacher; they were sent first to white men, why not to the Indians?"

Stewart said, "In the beginning Jesus commissioned his disciples saying, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel

to every creature.' This is as much for you as for any others; we bring His Gospel to you and if you receive it not you shall be damned. The Bible is for all. Christ died for all that all might be saved."

Stewart continued and Mononcue, Hicks and others were convicted and converted. Many others embraced the truth. These were among his first converts. Having never been Roman Catholics, their prejudices were easy to overcome.

Crowds came to Stewart's meetings nightly, and the work of revival increased. Many of the younger converts became, under the leadership of Stewart, good singers. Stewart's solo singing was a special attraction to the unbelievers. He always sang with the spirit and with the understanding also. While he was not demonstrative nor vociferous, he had the gift of persuasion and could logically impress the truth on other minds. He was not a scholar, but he had a good common school education and upon this foundation, through his intercourse with books, nature and God he became an efficient workman. Several of his sermons found in print, although not fully reported, evince the fact that he had clear conceptions of theology, especially as relates to man as a sinner, and a sinner to be saved by Grace.

In February, 1817, Stewart felt that something more radical must be done in order to bring about the conversion of those who were under his instruction. Their convictions were more of the head than of the heart. He and those with him prayed daily for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and their prayer was granted. Revival power came upon these heathen, and there was deep and pungent conviction for sins and real conversions. This work of grace aroused opposition.

The heathen party arranged for a "Thanksgiving Feast and Dance." It was for the whole Wyandot nation, and so Stewart and his followers attended. Stewart went with misgivings; he simply sat and looked on. To his surprise his converts joined in the dance, Mononcue with others. Stewart had protested against this, and he went away discouraged, resolving to leave them. He announced his purpose and preached his farewell sermon on the next Sunday from Acts 20:30. This

sermon, reported and printed by William Walker, the writer has read. Earnestly Stewart plead with the converts to avoid heathen practices, and warned the heathen present, kindly but earnestly, to flee from the wrath to come.

He narrated his call to come to them and his labors with them, and told them they should see his face no more. There was general weeping, even the heathen joining in the lamentation. Stewart then addressed the chiefs and principal men, while silence reigned among the large audience assembled in the council house, as he bade all good bye.

On the suggestion of Mrs. Warpole, a collection was taken for Stewart, amounting to ten dollars. He left and returned to Marietta. A few remained faithful. Heathenism and drunkenness held full sway. Only twenty men of the Wyandot nation did not drink intoxicants. Although Stewart was away his heart was with the Indians and after only a few months, to the joy of the Christian Indians, he returned. During his absence he wrote an excellent pastoral letter to the little flock. Throughout, his spirit and conduct evinced the unselfishness of his motives.

With his return came an increase of zeal, and power and increased success crowned his efforts. The work enlarged. It was more than Stewart was able to do. A prominent Methodist minister of another denomination than the Episcopal Methodists, visited him and tried to have him change his relationship, but it was of no avail. He sent an account of "The Lord's doings" among the Wyandots to a session of the Ohio Annual Conference and asked for a helper who could assist him in preaching and administration.

As nearly as can be ascertained, the names of the missionaries and time are: John Stewart, 1816 to 1823; James Montgomery, 1819; Moses Henkle, 1820; J. B. Finley, 1821 to 1827—part of this time as presiding elder; Charles Elliot, 1822; Jacob Hooper, 1823; J. C. Brook, 1825; James Gilruth, 1826-27; Russell Bigelow served as junior missionary in 1827 and in 1828 was in charge of the mission and of the district as presiding elder with Thomas Thompson, junior missionary; B. Boydsen, 1830; E. C. Gavitt, 1831; Thomas Simms, 1832; S. P.

Shaw, 1835; S. M. Allen, 1837; James Wheeler, 1839-1843; Ralph Wilcox, 1843.

The teachers in the mission were: Miss Harriett Stubbs, Miss Margaret Hooper, Liberty Prentiss, Miss E. A. Gibbs, Asbury Sabin, Jane Parker, matron, and teacher of spinning, weaving and domestic work, Mrs. Jane Riley, L. M. Pounds and the missionaries' wives.

Up to this time Stewart was an exhorter; his license being signed by Father McCabe, grandfather of Bishop Charles C. McCabe. The licence was given while Stewart was in Marietta.

He now attended a Quarterly Meeting on Mad River Circuit. Bishop George was present and presided. "After a careful examination, John Stewart was licensed as a local preacher."

With money raised by Bishop McKendree a tract of fifty-three acres of land on the east side of the Sandusky, near Harmer's Mill, was bought for Stewart. About this time Bishop McKendree, in feeble health, came to the mission on horseback, from Lancaster, Ohio, and was accompanied by J. B. Finley and D. J. Soul, Jr. The Bishop was delighted to find "the Lord had a people among the Wyandots."

The money paid for the land was collected by Bishop McKendree at camp meetings and conferences. In this is not only an official recognition but a memorial of the large heartedness of this pioneer Bishop.

About 1820 Stewart married Polly, a mulatto girl. She was a devout Christian, and could read and write. With her he lived in his own cabin home and with the help of his wife and friends soon had enough from the virgin soil, with some money assistance from the conference, to live in pioneer comfort.

Near the end of 1823, after a battle with consumption, the word spread among the Christians that Stewart was dying; a number of Christian chiefs and devout men and women were with him. Christmas and the New Year were at hand. Stewart calmly exhorted all—told how the Lord sustained him, and gave his testimony to the power of Christ to save. Holding his wife's hand, he said to all, "Oh, be faithful," and died. In an

humble grave on his land he was buried, and for twenty years thereafter no stone marked his resting-place.

But he ~~was not~~ forgotten. His grave was often visited, and the Indian youth were taught to place flowers on his grave each spring and summer time.

In 1834 the Rev. James Wheeler, missionary, just before the Indians left for the West, had Stewart's remains taken up and reinterred at the southeast corner of the "old mission," and a free stone slab placed at his head with a suitable epitaph.

This church was erected in 1824, the money, \$1,333.33, be-



Wyandot Mission Church in Ruins, Upper Sandusky, Ohio, 1884.

ing donated by the Government through Hon. J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War. Rev. J. B. Finley was the instigator in securing this, and he was made the custodian of the money pending its disposition in the erection of this church. The building later went into decay, and the gravestones were carried away piece-meal by relic hunters, until in 1886 all vestige of them was gone. A similar condition of affairs pertained with reference to the wood work and the furnishings of the Mission Church.

In 1860 and 61 when these were in a fair state of preservation. the writer, then a young man in his first station, Upper

Sandusky, made a chart and diagram of the church and cemetery, the location of the buried dead, with copies of the epitaphs on each tombstone, which he preserved. The work of restoration was done with money—\$2,000—donated by the Missionary Society of M. E. Church, by order of General Conference. The writer, as chairman of the restoration committee, had the honor of using this money in erecting once again, out of its ruins, the first mission church of Episcopal Methodism, and the first Protestant mission church in the Northwest Territory. When Charles Elliott was missionary, a log building was erected in



Wyandot Mission Church Restored, 1889.

which Stewart, Elliott and others preached, and here Harriett Stubbs taught the children. It was a temporary log building and, so far as we know, was not used exclusively as a church, and was not dedicated.

During the session of the Central Ohio Annual Conference in September, 1889, the restored Mission Church was rededicated. There were several thousand more people present than could get into the house, so the services were held under the old oak trees which had sheltered the hundreds of Wyandots who had worship in the church.

Dr. Adam C. Barnes, P. E., was chairman. Dr. P. P.

Pope, grandson of Russell Bigelow, led in prayer. Addresses were delivered by Bishop J. F. Hurst, Hon. D. D. Hare, Dr. L. A. Belt, Gen. W. H. Gibson, a historical address by the writer, and reminiscences by Dr. E. C. Gavitt, only surviving missionary, and a hymn in Wyandot sung by "Mother Solomon," a member in her childhood of the first mission school. Many were present whose parents or grandparents had been connected some way with the mission.



"MOTHER SOLOMON."

The name and work of John Stewart is perpetuated in this restored and really monumental church, in the engraved marble tablet in its walls, the granite marking his grave, and in each mission church and mission school of Episcopal Methodism throughout the world.

The good work inaugurated by this humble but excellent Christian character will never be forgotten, but as the ages come and go, and the heathen world is brought to Christ, his name shall be more remembered and honored. All admit that his success among the Wyandots led to the organization of the Missionary

Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1819. And was not the mission school at Upper Sandusky the genesis of the Woman's Foreign Missionary work? If so, then all honor to Harriett Stubbs and Jane Parker and their worthy successors.

Let the name of Stewart be placed in the list of the world's benefactors. May his sublime faith, clear conviction of the Divine presence, enthusiasm, endurance, patience and unselfishness, awaken in the hearts of each reader of these pages the spirit of emulation.

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NEW TRUSTEES OF THE SOCIETY.

REV. WILLIAM HENRY RICE, D. D.

Among the historic characters who played a thrilling and imperishable part in the early annals of Ohio were the three Moravian missionaries, Christian Frederick Post, David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder. From the last named in direct descent is the Rev. W. H. Rice, for many years past a life and active member of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society and at the last annual meeting (February 26), elected a Trustee. His grandmother was Anne Salome, daughter of John Heckewelder, and born August 13, 1784. She married Joseph Rice, of that famous family of Bethlehem Moravians who were members of the church colony sent over from Europe by the Moravian church in 1742 to become the first settlers of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, of which history has preserved a full account. A



REV. W. H. RICE.

son of this marriage was James Alexander Rice who married Josephine Charlotte Leibert, descendant of a Moravian family. William Henry Rice, the son of this union was born at Bethlehem (Pa.), September 8, 1840, during the Harrison campaign, whence his name, as we learn from the history of Tuscarawas county by Byron Williams. From the same source we condense the facts concerning the life of Mr. Rice.

Mr. Rice enjoyed the home and school training of Bethlehem, that famous center of Moravian learning, until he was received into Yale College before his fifteenth birthday as a member of the Class of 1859, when he was graduated as one of the "scholars of the House", standing number seven in a class of one hundred and ten students, although he was the youngest but one of the class. On graduation he became a member of the Phi Beta Kappa fraternity. The next two years were spent in teaching in the public and select schools of New Haven, Conn., after which he entered Yale Theological Seminary. In his middle year he joined the Union Army and was elected Chaplain of the One Hundred and Twenty-Ninth Pennsylvania Infantry. He took part in the battles of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville.

He re-enlisted as a private in the Thirty-Fourth Pennsylvania, an emergency regiment that served in the Gettysburg campaign. After being honorably discharged he completed his theological course at Yale and was appointed to the pastoral charge of a German Moravian Home Mission Church in New Haven. He then served by successive appointments through the following forty odd years from 1867 to 1907 in the Moravian pastorates of York, Nazareth and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; in Brooklyn, New York City and on Staten Island, New York; and for the past ten years at Gnadenhutzen, Ohio. He is the Dean of the American Moravian Pastors, having seen more years of service than any other minister on the active list. He also served as the assistant Chaplain in St. Luke's Hospital in New York. In 1869 and again in 1899, he was sent to the General Synod of the Moravian Church which meets once every ten years in Hernhut, Saxony, having been elected both times by the American Moravian Synod. In Ohio he is the Moravian Vice President of the State Christian Endeavor Union. He is a Vice President of the Moravian Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and a life member in the Pennsylvania Historical Society. He is the author of "David Zeisberger and His Brown Brethren," a most graphic and accurate account of the religious labors of Zeisberger among the Delaware Indians of Eastern Ohio. The historical address delivered by Mr. Rice at the Gnadenhutzen Centennial, in 1898, was published in a previous volume of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society annuals. During his Gnadenhutzen pastorate he had a large part in the erection and dedication, free of debt, of the beautiful memorial sanctuary, the John Heckewelder Memorial Moravian Church. On July 27, 1905, the Board of Trustees of Scio College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. On June 13, 1907, in the Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic at Canton for the Department of Ohio, Dr. Rice was elected Chaplain for the Department. He has successively been a Comrade of the Grand Army of the Republic in Rankin Post No. 10, Brooklyn, New York; in Anna M. Ross Post, Philadelphia, and J. K. Taylor Post, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; and lastly of Alexander Rank Post No. 534, Gnadenhutzen, Ohio, where he is serving his fifth term as Post Commander. During his pastorate at York, Pennsylvania, he was married to Miss Mary Elizabeth Holland, eldest daughter of Rev. Francis R. and Augusta Wolle Holland, of Hope, Bartholomew County, Indiana. They have two children. Doctor James Francis Rice, of Buffalo, New York, and Rebekah Holland Rice, of Gnadenhutzen. Mrs. Rice is a descendant, on her mother's side, of the Benezet family of Philadelphia, Huguenot exiles from France. Mr. Rice is an accomplished theological scholar and linguist, an earnest and eloquent speaker and unites a ripe maturity of experience and wisdom with the enthusiasm of vigorous youth. He will enter *con amore* into the work of the Society of which he now becomes a Trustee.

ALBERT DOUGLAS.

The county of Ross is one of the richest in Ohio in historic lore. It figured potently in the pioneer and early state annals. Chillicothe was



ALBERT DOUGLAS.

the first capital of the state. There on April 25, 1852, was born Albert Douglas, who at the last annual meeting of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, of which he has long been a life and interested member, was elected a Trustee. Mr. Douglas was educated in the Chillicothe public schools, a preparatory school and Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, graduating in the Class of 1872. He received his legal education at Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass., receiving the degree of LL. B. in 1874. He immediately took up the practice of his profession and showed such proficiency in his calling that the Republicans of his county nominated and elected him prosecuting attorney in 1876. His success was all the more marked as the county at that time was largely Democratic. He was re-elected in 1878. He held no other political office until he was placed upon the State Republican ticket in 1896, as one of the presidential electors-at-large. When the Electoral College met he was made chairman of that body. Two years ago (1906) he was the choice of the Republicans of his district for representative in the Sixtieth Congress. He was elected by a handsome majority. In 1905 Mr. Douglas received the honorary degree of LL. D. from the Ohio University and the same degree from Kenyon College in 1906. In 1880 he married Lucia C. Taylor of Brooklyn, N. Y. Mr. Douglas is a man of scholarly tastes and a most polished and forceful speaker. His ability in this line places him in the front rank of the political orators of the state. He is constantly called upon to deliver addresses before colleges and literary societies.

At the annual meeting of the Society, held March 22, 1907, Mr. Douglas delivered the address, his subject being "Arthur St. Clair." It was later published in the annuals of this Quarterly.

ETHICAL FUNCTION OF THE HISTORIAN.

The International Congress of Historical Sciences, whose annual session attracted scientists from all parts of the world, was held this year (from August 6 to 12) in the great Philharmonic Hall at Berlin, Germany.

The governing body selected Dr. David Jayne Hill, Ambassador

of the United States to Germany, for the distinction of delivering the opening address. Dr. Hill delivered his address in German and dealt with "The Ethical Function of the Historian."

Prince Frederick Leopold was present as the representative of Emperor William. Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg, Minister of the Interior welcomed the delegates in the name of Chancellor von Buelow and the Empire. The Mayor of Berlin made a speech in behalf of the municipality, in which he said he hoped the congress would be a second peace conference.

Dr. Reinhold Koser was elected President of the congress. Honorary Presidents were selected from the representatives of each of the 12 countries represented. Ambassador Hill was chosen for America.



DR. DAVID JAYNE HILL.

The subjects discussed during the congress comprised all periods and departments of ancient and modern history and research, and the lectures included a large number of prominent historians and professors.

The Presidents of the Organizing Committee are Dr. Reinhold Koser, General Director of the Prussian Royal State Archives; Dr. Eduard Meyer, of Berlin University, and Dr. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Maellenderff, of Berlin.

Among the speakers at the general sittings were: G. Maspero, Cairo; F. Wilkhoff, Vienna; J. L. Heiberg, Copenhagen; Sir Frederick Pollock, London; F. R. Cumont, Ghent; M. Rostowzew, St. Petersburg; Prince of Teano, Rome; L. Pelissier, Montpellier; Sir William Ramsay, Aberdeen; H. Hjarne, Upsala; P. Rajna, Florence, and A. Bugge, Christiania.

The United States was represented by Ambassador Hill; G. Reisner, of Cambridge; E. Capps, of Princeton; N. Haskins, of Cambridge; M. Jastrow, of Philadelphia; A. C. McGiffert, of New York, and Kuno Francke, of Cambridge.

Dr. Hill's address received closest attention throughout and was applauded at the close. He said:

"The question: 'What Is History,' is closely connected with that deepest of all questions: 'What is Human Life?' For whatever in reality human life may be, history is the record of its development, its progress and its manifestations. The fundamental problem for the historian is to determine the peculiar nature of his task and he is greeted at the very threshold of his inquiry with the questions: What is the purpose for which historical science exists? What is the nature of his-

toric truth? How does history differ from other sciences? How does the historic process appear as seen from within? and what, in consequence, is the chief function of the historian?

"There are two aspects of reality that have to be treated in quite different ways. It is a postulate of modern science that there exists in the universe a fixed amount of energy, never increased or diminished, and all phenomena are believed to be manifestations of this primordial energy. Some of these phenomena appear in an order of co-existence in space, others in an order of succession in time; and it is with these transformations in time that history has to deal. But there is another aspect of phenomena not less important for history than transformation in time. The resemblances and differences of phenomena are both quantitative and qualitative. It is with the latter chiefly that history has to deal; for, while the quantity of co-existent energy always remains the same, the qualitative differences among phenomena appear to be always increasing in variety and complexity in the order of succession.

EVER INCREASING VARIATION.

"If, for illustration, we pass from physico-chemical to biological phenomena, and from these to psychological phenomena, in the progressive order of natural evolution, we notice that, while the quantity of energy is supposed to remain the same, there is an ever increasing variation of qualitative differences, until in the ascending scale of organisms we arrive at man, who, standing at the head of the biological series, possesses a greater diversity and complexity of qualitative distinction than any other being known to science.

"As we rise in the scale of qualitative development from the chemical compound to the plant from the plant to the animal, and from the animal governed by instinct to man governed by reason, we find mathematics less and less sufficient as an organ of investigation. While in the realms of color, temperature and other secondary physical properties quantity may furnish a key to the explanation of quality, we find ourselves at last in a sphere of being where quality is the matter of supreme interest, and there the mathematical method ceases to apply.

"It is precisely this new and higher sphere of human activity which is by common consent, par excellence the field of history. The point I wish here to establish is, however, the scientific necessity of qualitative as distinguished from quantitative measurement in estimating the phenomena of human life, which are the phenomena of human history. One side of human science is built up with answers to the question, 'How much.' There is another side, equally important to science in its totality, and far more rich in human interest, which depends upon the answers to the question, 'Of what kind?' and this is the historical, as distinguished from the mathematical aspect or science.

HISTORY ANSWERS SECOND.

"As mathematics answers the questions of the first series, so history answers those of the second. It deals with transformations of a qualitative character, while mathematics deals with quantitative relations. To make clear this difference, let us note the contest between the mathematical and the historical methods. The former aims to discover the uniformities that exist in space and time; that is, to reach the largest attainable generalizations of the laws of invariable action. The aim of history is exactly the opposite.

"Seen from within, the historic process opens new vistas to the historian. What is the signification of this ceaseless struggle with the evanescent and this endeavor to lift the contents of time to a position of permanent security? Does it not imply in the human agent a sense of continuity through which he realizes his part in the general development of man, and his duty as a member of the human race? It is in the great crises of history that its true nature is made apparent.

"While it is undeniable that science of necessity requires measurement and comparison, it is an error to suppose that mathematical measurement and comparison are the only forms of human estimate or that scientific knowledge may not be based as firmly upon differences as upon resemblances and uniformities. While the observer of physical phenomena measures them upon a scale expressed in quantitative units, the observer of historical phenomena measures them upon a scale expressed in qualitative differences. The essential basis of science is variation of experience, which may be capable of expression in either of two ways; the mathematical, which measures it in quantitative value; or the ethical, which measures it in terms of qualitative value.

FUNCTION OF HISTORIAN.

"If I am correct in this analysis it is no derogation of the rank and position of history in the hierarchy of knowledge to say that it is an ethical rather than a mathematical science. And, if this is so, then it is evident that the function of the historian in dealing with historical material is an ethical function; not simply because it is his duty, in common with all other men of science, to discover and to state the truth with a high sense of his responsibility to mankind, but because the whole substance of history is of an ethical nature. It is the work of the historian to trace the upward or downward curve of man's development as displayed in the various forms of human conduct, such as art, industry, thought, literature and politics; and, if possible, to bring to light by following the successive transformations that have affected that development the forces and conditions that have in fact produced it, and the effect of particular instances of conduct upon it.

"The necessity of this ethical function on the part of the historian

grows directly out of the nature of the historic process. Although the life of mankind in its totality may be, and in some sense is, dependent upon the natural energies that underlie human existence, there is in every individual a sense of relation to the past and to the future; that is, a historic consciousness that distinguishes man from his fellow creatures of the organic world. And this historic consciousness not only includes a certain sense of indebtedness for the labors and solicitude of the past, but there is, perhaps, no human individual, certainly no typical individual, who does not feel that the forces acting in and through him, whatsoever they are, have ends that ought to be accomplished.

MOTIVE AND RESULT.

"The one constant factor in the historic process is human nature, which is sometimes governed by reason, but generally moved by impulse. The business of the historian, therefore, is not to make history seem reasonable by placing upon it a scientific stamp foreign to its nature; but to display the motives that have determined the historic process as it has in reality been unfolded. If he is thus faithful in his exposition of motive and result, his work will have a far greater scientific value than if he imports into it principles and methods borrowed from other sciences dealing with materials of a different nature, or products of purely intellectual abstraction; for the effect of this importation is to impart to history an appearance of reasonableness that it does not in reality possess.

"Thus, from every point of view, we see that the function of the historian is not to deal with uniformities and universal formulas, but with the variations of human conduct, and to measure its success and its failure upon the scale of rational endeavors; for history is the record of man's efforts to solve the problems with which his nature and his environments confront him. It is good for mankind to realize that, although living in a universe governed by law, as a result of its freedom it has sometimes gone wrong; and that, without a loyal adherence to great principles, it may go wrong again. The best antidote to this eventually is a true science of the past. But whether it be for good or for evil, as men of science, dealing with the largest and most instructive aspect of human development, historians are bound by that scientific conscience which is the test, the badge and the glory of their profession to unveil reality and to give meaning to the words, 'Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht.'"

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1781, and immediately settled on what has since been known as the Whitaker Reservation; Fort Stephenson, here in Fremont, the place first brought into prominence in American history by the presence of the famous Revolutionary patriot, Israel Putnam, who commanded the Colonial troops from Connecticut in the Bradstreet expedition of 1764; the place to which General Washington sent Captain Brady to ascertain the war-like intentions of the Indians in 1780; where the British established a temporary fort in 1782 during the Revolutionary war; where General Wayne promised to build an American fort in 1795 to protect the friendly Indians against the encroachments of the British Indians; where finally the youthful Major George Croghan on the 2d of August, 1813, defeated the combined forces of the British under Proctor and the Indians under Tecumseh in the famous battle of Fort Stephenson; and to Spiegel Grove, the home of Rutherford Birchard Hayes and Lucy Webb Hayes, the typical American home of the last half of the 19th century. My desire is to show how this Sandusky country was one of the great natural runways of the Indians in their migrations between the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, to the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers; of the French, who cannily imitated the Indian in his method of travel and woodland life; of the English, coming in from the east to possess the land; and of the Americans, in expelling the English from the country.

The term Sandusky, in all military and frontier history is broadly used, having been applied by the Indians not only to the river but to the valley and the Indian villages situated at the upper and lower rapids (Upper and Lower Sandusky), and the bay, or "little lake." This ubiquitous nomenclature has not unnaturally led many persons of the present day to suppose that the flourishing neighboring city of Sandusky was one of the villages bearing that name; whereas the Sandusky city of today was unknown until years after the War of 1812 and was called Ogontz's Place, later Portland, and not until a decade after the glorious defence of Ft. Stephenson (or "Sandusky" as the name is inscribed on the gold medal awarded to Croghan by the Congress of the United States), was the name "Sandusky City" formally adopted by our neighbor on the Lake.

The Sandusky country in Indian history possesses a peculiar charm and fascinating interest. During that period of years which fills western annals with the story of bloody conflict, the valley of the Sandusky river and the Indian village at the lower falls of the Sandusky, (now Fremont) were the home of the most powerful and war-like of the savage nations. Between the period of the old French war of 1755 and the war of 1812, this place presented the varied scenes of Indian life—primitive agriculture, rude cabins, canoe building, amusements, the council fire, prisoners running the gauntlet and burning at the stake.



LUCY WEBB HAYES.

Let us go back, however, for some two centuries. In 1534 Cartier found on the present sites of Quebec and Montreal, Indian tribes who were in fierce combat with the peoples to the south of them—the Senecas and kindred Iroquois nations. Between Cartier's last voyage to the St. Lawrence in 1543 and the arrival of Champlain in 1603 but little is definitely known of these tribes and their wars. According to the Jesuit Relation for 1639 a con-

federacy of four highly organized Huron tribes, doubtless the remnants, with additions, of Cartier's Indians who had been driven westward, dwelt in the vicinity of Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay, and were known as Wendats. This term the English later corrupted to Wyandot, while the French continued to use the term Huron. In 1615 Champlain found all these northern tribes waging fierce war against the Iroquois tribes in New York.

When the French established trading posts on the St. Lawrence the Hurons made annual trips to the posts, and in 1615 the Jesuits established a mission for them about fifty miles below

Montreal. Father Sagard was the first historian of the mission, and is authority for the statement that the Hurons were in the habit of sending large war parties to ravage the country of the Iroquois. The hostility between them dated from prehistoric times, so that the invasion and destruction of the Huron country in 1648-50 by the Iroquois was but the final blow in a struggle of almost 100 years. The acquisition of firearms by the Iroquois from the Dutch while the Hurons had almost none, was an important factor in the success of the Iroquois. Hundreds of Hurons were carried captive to the Iroquois country; others escaped to their kindred the Neutrals and the Eries; and others



COL. WEBB C. HAYES.

took refuge at Green Bay—where the Ottawas joined them; later on the south shore of Lake Superior, and again at Mackinac island. In 1670 we find a remnant of them in the palisaded village of St. Ignace. Later some of the Hurons moved to Detroit, and thence to the Sandusky country, in Ohio.

Mention was made of a kindred tribe of the Hurons, the Neutral Nation. Tradition has it that long before the settlement in the Sandusky valley of the fugitive Hurons, the Neutral Nation had at Lower

Sandusky (Fremont) two fortified neutral towns, on opposite sides of the Sandusky river, which in the shape of earthworks were observed by the pioneer residents of Fremont.

Major B. F. Stickney, for many years an Indian agent in this locality and familiar with its history and traditions, in a lecture in Toledo in 1845, speaking of these towns, said: "The Wyandots have given me this account of them. At a period of two and a half centuries ago all the Indians west of this point were at war with those east. Two walled towns were built near each other, inhabited by those of Wyandot origin. They assumed a neutral character. All of the west might enter the western city and all of the east the eastern. The inhabitants of one city might

inform those of the other that war parties were there; but who they were or whence they came or anything more must not be mentioned."

Gen. Lewis Cass, in an address in 1829 before the Historical society of Michigan, alluding to these neutral towns, said: "During the long and disastrous contest which preceded and followed the arrival of the Europeans, in which the Iroquois contended for victory, and their enemy for existence, this little band preserved the integrity of their tribe and the sacred character of peace-makers. All who met upon their threshold met as friends. This neutral nation was still in existence when the French missionaries reached the upper lakes two centuries ago. The details of their history and of their character are meagre and unsatisfactory, and this is the more to be regretted as such a sanctuary among the barbarous tribes is not only a singular institution but altogether at variance with that reckless spirit of cruelty with which their wars are usually prosecuted." Internal feuds arose, as the tradition goes, and the villages were destroyed.

The first white explorer of all this region was La Salle who on Aug. 7, 1679, in his bark the Griffin, sailed from Niagara out on the surface of Lake Erie. With him came Father Hennepin who wrote that "the lake encloses on its southern bank a tract of land as large as the kingdom of France." A map attached to Hennepin's work, published in 1683, shows Sandusky bay and river drawn to an accurate angle with the southern shore of Lake Erie, from which it is evident that La Salle entered Sandusky bay and river.

Although Cadillac had founded Detroit in 1701 it was not until 1739 that we begin to gain a little definite information about events on the Sandusky. The war chief of the Wyandot or Huron tribe before mentioned, was one Orontony or Nicolas, who after being worsted in conflict with the French near Detroit, had removed his followers to the mouth of Sandusky River. Nicolas was a wily savage whose enmity was greatly to be feared, and he commanded men who formed an alert, unscrupulous and powerful body. The French having provoked his bitter hatred, which was fomented by English agents, he conspired to destroy the French not only at Detroit but at the upper posts. In 1745



BOURNE'S SURVEY (1820) OF SANDUSKY RIVER,

showing Indian Trails and Land Portage of Sandusky-Scioto Watercourse from Mouth of Portage River, South. Also Military Trails from Ft. Stephenson (1812) to Ft. Meigs (1813) and to Ft. Seneca (1813).

1. Landing Place of French and Indians from Detroit, and Gen. Harrison's Embarkation for Canadian Campaign (1813).
2. Old Fort Sandusky (1745).
3. French Fort Jununduat (1754).
4. Williams Reservation (1817).
5. Whitacre Reservation (1817).
6. Two Miles Square Reservation at Lower Falls of Sandusky, now Fremont, (1785), and Ft. Stephenson, erected 1812.

Nicolas had permitted the English to erect a trading post or blockhouse known as Ft. Sandoski at his principal town on the bay and to remain and dispose of their stock. Notwithstanding some discrepancy as to time, the blockhouse which Nicolas permitted the English traders to build was probably the first of the English forts, known as Fort Sandusky, built on the portage between the Sandusky river and Lake Erie. By August, 1747, the Iroquois of the west, the Hurons, Ottawas, Miami, Sioux, Shawnees and other tribes, to the number of seventeen, had entered into the conspiracy. Through the treachery of a Huron woman the plot was revealed to a Jesuit priest who communicated the information to Longueuil, the French commandant at Detroit, who in turn notified all the other French posts, and although a desultory warfare broke out resulting in a number of murders, there was no concerted action. Nicolas finding that he had been deserted by his allies, and seeing the activity and determination of the French not to suffer English encroachments on what they called French territory, finally in April, 1748, destroyed his villages and palisades at (Fort) Sandusky and removed with 119 warriors and their families to White River (Indiana). Not long after he withdrew to the Illinois country on the Ohio River, where he died in the autumn of 1748. The inflexible and determined conduct of Longueuil toward the most of the conspiring tribes brought the coalition to an end in May, 1748.*

In 1739 Sieur de Noyelle wrote to the Marquis de Beauharnais that "the Hurons had all gathered at Sandoske, although they had been told that they have nothing to fear." — Nevertheless "they were armed like men who go to fight — bullets in their mouths and in their guns — and one Nicolas was their chief." This is our first mention of the redoubtable warrior under whose protection old Fort Sandusky was built. These letters to and from Beauharnais dwell upon Nicolas's zeal in passing about war belts among the various tribes and his frequent treason against the French. "As I fear lest he may hatch something wrong,"

* Summarized from Handbook of the Indians (Bureau Ethnology); O'Callaghan's "Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York," Vol. X, pp. 83-271; and Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. V. Knapp's "History of the Maumee Valley" and Slocum's "History of the Maumee River Basin" contain excellent narratives of this conspiracy.

Beauharnais wrote, "I have sent out orders on all sides to inform me of what is going on." M. de Longueuil, commandant at Detroit noted in his daily reports, (Documents Relative to New France, vol. III), that on "on May 20 some Hurons from Detroit established now for some years at Sandoské, of the band of the war chief Nicolas, had killed five Frenchmen who were returning from White River, and had stolen their peltry; that the Indians thereabouts had formed a plan to destroy all the French at Detroit during the fete of Pentacost and then go to the fort and put all to fire and blood; that some Hurons had struck too soon, the plot has been disclosed by a Huron woman who came to warn M. de Longueuil.—Nicolas's band had continued to hold



CAVELIERE DE LA SALLE.
1643-1687.

themselves at Sandoské where they counted not only to protect themselves but to harass Detroit by little war parties." Following letters show that the Sandoské Hurons had murdered the five Frenchmen under conditions of the greatest cruelty.

Nov. 14, 1747, M. de Longueuil wrote: "Nicolas's band at Sandoské are as insolent as ever, the chief never ceasing his work to get allies—Nicolas will draw the English to him and facilitate their establishments all along Lake Erie." March 20, 1748. "The conduct of Nicolas is suspicious. The English in Philadelphia came there twice during the winter and were well re-

ceived. The scalps of the Frenchmen killed near the fort of the Miamis (now Ft. Wayne) have been carried there (Sandoské)." May 28, 1748. M. de Longueuil reports that a faithful Indian who had gone to gather up the Indians who had deserted from the village of Otsandoske (Nicolas's village near the mouth of the river) reported that Nicolas with 119 warriors of his nation, women and children and baggage, after having burned the fort and the cabins of the village, had taken the route for White River.—*Canadian Archives*.

Although Nicolas's career at Fort Sandusky was thus ended, the English traders did not give up the foothold they had gained. In 1749 La Jonquière, governor of Canada, learned to his great indignation that several English traders had *again* reached the Sandusky and were "exerting a bad influence upon the Indians of

that quarter." It was in 1749 also that Captain Pierre de Céloron* traversed Ohio with 300 men; buried leaden plates with the French arms thereon at the mouths of the rivers entering the Ohio from the north, claiming the whole country for France. He came north by the way of our sister river the Maumee. He told the Indians that the English traders would ruin them and drive them out of the country, and in this respect he told the truth. He was made



JOSEPH GASPARD CHAUSSEGROS DE LÉRY.
1721-1797.

commandant at Detroit, and immediately followed the formal claim of France to the territory between Lake Erie and the Ohio by founding a fort and trading post on the bay. Doubtless this was that Fort Sandoski "usurped by the French in 1751," as Mitchell's map puts it. In 1753, a force of 1,200 French from Montreal built forts at Presqu'isle, La Boeuf and Venango, the present sites of Erie, Waterford and Venango. Du Quesne (Pittsburg) was built the next year. In 1754 Fort Junundat was built on the east or right

side of the Sandusky bay or river. Gist, the land surveyor of the Ohio Company, under date of 1750 thus refers to Ft. Sandusky: "Two traders belonging to Mr. Croghan came into town and informed us that two of his people had been taken by 40 Frenchmen and 20 Indians, who carried them with 7 horse loads of skins to a new fort the French were building on one of the branches of Lake Erie."

* Known also as Bienville de Celeron; but our spelling is copied from the "Jesuit Relations" (Burrows' Cleveland Edition) of Rev. Father Bonnecamps, who accompanied this Ohio expedition.

The location of Old Fort Sandoski, the first fort built by white men in Ohio, long a subject of earnest research, was definitely settled by Col. Webb C. Hayes, of Fremont, and Mr. Chas. W. Burrows, of Cleveland, by the discovery, in 1906, of the de Lery journals. Mr. Burrows' work in publishing the "Jesuit Relations" had familiarized him with the richness of the Canadian archives, and at Colonel Hayes' request he communicated with the archivist of Laval University, Quebec, and some clue being found, Colonel Hayes and Mr. Burrows at once visited the Rev. Father A. E. Jones, S. J., of St. Mary's College, Montreal, and Abbé Gosselin, archivist of Laval University at Quebec, at which latter place the eight de Lery Journals were discovered. One of these journals, with its numerous maps and accompanying descriptions of the daily journeyings and solar observations, settles definitely the exact location of old Fort Sandoski, the first fort built by white men in Ohio, the location of which has until now been in doubt even among our foremost historians. The distinguished Col. Charles Whittlesey, long president of the Western Reserve Historical Society, in a Tract published in 1873 on the forts at Sandusky, had written:

"It is not easy to determine the precise location of the early French and English forts or trading posts on Sandusky Bay. The earliest map which has on it the name of this bay is that of Henry Popple, London, 1733, where it is called 'Lake Sandoski.' Indian traders from Pennsylvania were there in 1748, but probably had not then a permanent post or fort. On Mitchell's map, London, 1755, and on that of Evans, Philadelphia, same date, there is a 'fort' laid down on the north side of the bay near the mouth. It is much more probable that this fort, house or post was situated where the trail or portage path came out on the bay, across the neck from the Portage or Carrying River, at Ottawa. The English government had no fortifications there at that time. Mitchell states that the fort on the north side, meaning post, was 'usurped by the French in 1751.' Fort Junundat, on Evans' map, is placed south of the bay and east of Sandusky River, 'built in 1754.' This was a French establishment for trade, perhaps with



PART OF MITCHELL'S MAP, 1755.

(Map of British and French Dominions in North America, by Jno. Mitchell, Courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.)

a stockade for defence against the English and their Indian allies."*

* The late A. T. Goodman, for many years secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society, in Tract No. 4, published Jan. 1871, has the following references to Fort Sandusky: "English traders first made their appearance in the Ohio country in 1699-1700. From that time until 1745 we frequently hear of them at various towns and stations. In 1745 they built a small fort or blockhouse among the Hurons on the north side of Sandusky Bay. In 1748 they were driven off by a party of French soldiers from Detroit. Prior to 1763 the English in Ohio were very few in comparison to the French."

In Tract No. 6, in "Papers Relating to the First White Settlers in Ohio," also by Mr. Goodman, published in July 1871, occurs the following reference to Fort Sandusky. "As early as the year 1745 English traders penetrated as far as Sandusky, or 'St. Dusky,' and established a post on the north side of the bay near the carrying place or portage from the Portage river across the peninsula. They were driven away by the French probably in 1748 or 1749. During this period a celebrated Indian trader from Pennsylvania, George Croghan, had a station at or near the mouth of the Cuyahoga, then known as the Cayahaga, and sometimes as Hioga."

Tract No. 25 is a 25-page description of the early maps of America, by Judge C. C. Baldwin for many years Secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society and later its president. It was published in April, 1875, and especially commends the accuracy of the Evans' and Mitchell's maps of 1755, and Pownall's map of 1777. "Lewis Evans was an American geographer and surveyor, born about 1700 and died 1756. He published a map of the Middle Colonies in 1755 with an analysis. The map itself is an epitome of history and geography. It was engraved by James Turner, and printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall, in Philadelphia. It was dedicated to Gov. Pownall, who in 1776 published a folio with an enlarged analysis, but the same map, in which the Governor stood stoutly by his deceased friend against other maps pirated. The advance in local knowledge in this map is large.—A map which was repeatedly printed, much used and of long authority was Mitchell's. John Mitchell, M. D., F. R. S., came to Virginia early in the 18th century as a botanist. He lived long in America and died in England in 1768. His large and elaborate map has a certificate from John Pownall, secretary of the Board of Trade, and brother of Governor Thomas Pownall, that it was undertaken at his request, composed from drafts, charts, and actual surveys, transmitted from the different Colonies by the Governors thereof. This certificate is dated July 1st, 1755. * * * This map was used by the commissioners in making the treaty of peace in 1783, by which our country became a nation."

Lewis Evans in the title page to his "Geographical, Historical,



PART OF LEWIS EVANS' MAP, 1775.

(General map of the Middle British Colonies in America. Courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.)

De Lery in his journal of 1754 refers to Fort Junundat when he mentions the fact of his having discharged his rifle and otherwise made futile attempts to attract the attention of some of the French traders on the opposite side of the bay from the ruins of Old Fort Sandusky; and later speaks of *Sieur Gouin*, a French trader who was settled opposite in a blockhouse or trading post. Numerous authorities confirm this, especially *Evans' map*, published the next year, 1755, which locates "Fort Junundat, built in 1754," as south of the bay and east of the river; and this fort Junundat must have been the one near the mouth of Pickerel Creek, now in Townsend township, Sandusky county; although the erosions of the bank have caused it to disappear. It was from this fort Junundat that many of the later Indian trails on the east side of the Sandusky River started. It is an interesting fact that the wife of *Sieur Gouin*, referred to by de Lery, is mentioned nine years later as having early in May, 1763, seen the Ottawa Indians filing off the ends of their gun barrels evidently preparing for the surprise and massacre of the Detroit garrison under Gladwin by Pontiac.

In August, 1754, the Chevalier Chaussegros de Lery, of Quebec, a distinguished engineer of the French army, was ordered to accompany an expedition from Presq'isle (Erie) to Detroit and Michillimacinac. The expedition started from Presqu'isle (Erie) on the 30th of July, 1754, and skirting along the southern shore of Lake Erie, entered Sandusky Bay, Sunday, August 4, and made a portage across the peninsula from the ruins of old Fort "Sandoske on Lac Sandoske," fifty-seven arpents or about two miles across to the "great lake," (Erie), to the present site of Port Clinton.

Political, Philosophical and Mechanical Essays, the first containing an Analysis of a general Map of the Middle British Colonies in America" says: "Sandusky is a considerable river abounding in level land, its stream gentle all the way to its mouth where it will receive considerable slope. This river is an important pass and the French have secured it as such, the Northern Indians cross the lake here from island to island, land at Sandoski, and go by a quick path to the lower Shawanese towns, and thence to the gap of Onarioto in the way to the Ottawa country. This will no doubt be the way that the French will take from Detroit to Moville, unless the English will be advised to secure it, now that it is in their power."

Colonel Crawford Lindsey of Quebec has prepared the following biographical sketch of DeLery.

Abbe Daniel in his work entitled "Le Vicomte C. de Lery et sa famille" devotes over 40 pages to Joseph Gaspard de Lery. The author who had access to the family papers has succeeded in producing a fairly complete work in that comparatively short biography. From it we take the following notes:

The de Lery family originally came from Toulon. Gaspard Chaussegros de Lery, the grandfather of the one who forms the subject of this sketch, was the engineer of that city. His son Gaspard was also an engineer, and in 1716 the Council of the Marine sent him to Canada to direct the works on the Quebec fortifications. After a long and fine career, he died in 1756.

On the 3d of October, 1717, he married Marie Renee le Gardeur de Beauvais, by whom he had several children, among whom was Joseph Gaspard, baptised in Quebec on the 21st July, 1721.

Joseph Gaspard entered the Minor Seminary of Quebec on the 29th June, 1731, and like all other pupils of that institution under the French regime, he followed the classes of the Jesuits' College.

Three years afterward, in 1734, an application was made for his appointment to the position of assistant-engineer in Quebec, but the answer to this was that it would not be proper to appoint a child of eleven or twelve to that position.

Such an application would lead one to suppose that young Joseph Gaspard displayed great aptitude for engineering and had been taught by his father who had himself written an excellent work on fortification.

In any case the position of assistant engineer, which had been refused him in 1735, was given him on the 21st April, 1739, when he was only 18 years old.

In the following year we find young de Lery in Louisiana. Charged by Broutin, the chief engineer, with the duty of reconnoitering the route leading to the Chicachos, he accomplished his mission to the satisfaction of his chiefs.

In 1741 he was promised a commission of second ensign and he received it the following year.

In 1743 he took a detachment to St. Frederick, put the fort in a state of defense and finished the prison. He was afterward engaged in repairing or constructing several forts in the Montreal district and was finally sent to that city whose fortifications were not in a proper condition. This was in 1744.

The following years were devoted to repairing forts Chambly and St. Frederick.



DE LERY COAT
OF ARMS.

M. de Lery was not only an engineer, he was also a soldier. The authorities gave him frequent opportunities of proving his valor. His expedition against the Loups and the Aquires in 1747 was the first of the kind; it was not to be the last.

de Lery who was only a second ensign was promoted first ensign or ensign on the establishment in 1748.

About the same time, M. De Galissonniere, wishing to obtain information regarding the route from Montreal to Detroit as well as the necessity of building new forts or repairing the old ones, ordered M. de Lery to perform the journey and to make a full report. To that order we are indebted for the first of M. de Lery's journals, and it will be seen that he performed the duty conscientiously.

Leaving Lachine on the 6th of June, 1749, he returned to Quebec on the 25th September following. M. de la Galissonniere was no longer there to congratulate him, but M. de la Jonquiere showed his satisfaction by appointing him commandant of the artillery, a position he held till May, 1750.

The governor did better still. On October 8th he submitted his name to the King for a lieutenancy which was granted him in April, 1751. M. de Lery was then in Acadia as commandant of Fort Beauséjour, which he built as well as that of Gaspereau. The reasons necessitating the construction of those forts are known to everybody.

Nevertheless the English were displeased and accused the French of having invaded a portion of Nova Scotia, burned Beaubassin, furnished arms to the inhabitants, etc., and would be satisfied with nothing less than compelling M. de la Jonquiere to disavow his conduct. Thereupon the Governor deemed it his duty to send some one to France to give information to the court and he chose for the purpose M. de Lery who had just arrived from Acadia. The latter had no difficulty in justifying M. de la Jonquiere.

After spending some time at La Rochelle to acquire further knowledge of military manœuvres, M. de Lery sailed for Quebec, where he arrived on the 23d October, 1752.

On the 24th September, 1754, he was married in Quebec to Louise Martel de Brouague.

The years 1754 and 1755 were especially busy ones for M. de Lery. Ordered to Niagara, he spent the winter there and went to Fort Duquesne, where he had some repairs executed. He was about to begin work on Fort Mochault when he was recalled to Fort Niagara by M. de Villiers who was in command there.

The narrative of that campaign or rather of those campaigns, constitutes the second and probably the most important of M. de Lery's journals. In it will be found interesting details which exist nowhere else.

From that date, M. de Lery's journals enable us to follow him more easily and we refer the reader to them, merely calling attention to the

expedition of 1756 against Fort Bull, that against Choueguen in the same year and the work on the Quebec fortifications in 1757.

Promoted Captain on the 1st of May, 1757, M. de Lery had not yet been honored with the Cross of St. Louis; it was granted him on the 20th January, 1759.

Finally on the 13th September of the same year, he took part in the battle of the Plains of Abraham and was wounded.

After the capitulation of Montreal, M. de Lery obtained permission from M. de Vaudreuil, to remain in Canada. In the following year he went to France with his family. He visited Paris and proceeded to London where he was presented to the King. It was on that occasion that George III, addressing himself to M. de Lery's young wife, said to her: "Madame if all the Canadian ladies are like you, I have truly made a conquest."

M. de Lery returned to Canada in 1764. In the following year the Duc de Choiseul authorized him to live there. He thought, however, of returning to France, but the Court, which had not looked with a favorable eye on his stay in England, ignored his application.

In 1774, England granted Canada The Quebec Act; a legislative Council was formed and M. de Lery was one of its first members. With his colleagues, he took the oath on the 17th August, 1775. Seven years afterward, September 7, 1782, the French Court confirmed the pension that had been granted him in 1762.

M. de Lery lived many years longer. He died in Quebec, Dec. 11, 1797, at the age of 76, and was buried three days afterward in the Cathedral.

Madame de Lery had died in 1793. Of their marriage 18 children were born; 10 sons and 8 daughters. The most celebrated of all was Francois Joseph, who afterward became Lieutenant-General, Chief Engineer and Baron of the French Empire.

This notice does not do justice to M. de Lery's qualities. By reading his journals one will know him better and appreciate the zeal, activity and intelligence of that brave officer whom the French governors honored with their confidence while giving him unsparing proofs of their satisfaction.

Throughout his whole military career, de Lery kept careful journals. These have been translated from the original French by Col. Crawford Lindsey, the official translator of the province of Quebec, who had translated the "Jesuit Relations" into English for the publishers, the Burrows Bros., of Cleveland.

There are 8 of these journals of M. de Lery's campaigns whereof the following is a summary description:

1. Journal of 1749. A memorandum book without a cover, containing 42 pages, 2 of which are blank. This is the narrative of a voyage to Detroit undertaken by the order of M. de la Gálissonniere.

2. Journal of 1754-1755. It consists of 8 small memorandum books whose sheets are held together by ribbons of different colors. There are 288 pages in all, including 14 blank ones.

This journal is probably the most important of all those left by M. de Lery, owing to the numerous and interesting items of information it gives respecting the old French forts and the routes leading to them. It also contains a large number of figures, plans, etc.

3. Journal of 1756. Same size as the preceding one; 29 pages of text.

Although the title of this journal would lead one to infer that it relates to expeditions at Ft. Bull, Choueguen and Carillon, this memor-



DE LERY JOURNALS.

andum book contains in reality only the narrative of the voyage to Carillon. The remainder is contained in two separate books.

4. Journal of the Campaign of 1756—April. Capture of Ft. Bull. A memorandum book with paste cover, containing 60 pages, three of which are blank. It contains two maps and a plat of Fort Bull.

5. Choueguen Campaign, 1756. Form and cover similar to the preceding one; this book contains 28 pages. In it the author gives a plan of Choueguen and vicinity.

6. Journal of 1757. A book of 32 pages. It gives interesting details respecting the Quebec fortifications at which M. de Lery worked all summer.

7. Journal of 1758. Consists of 27 pages, 10 of which are blank. It is the narrative of an expedition in July and August to the Iroquois country.

8. Journal of 1758. Voyage in September and October from Quebec to Carillon. A book of 12 pages.

The journals 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, are evidently a first draft, roughly written; this can be seen by the writing and spelling. The writing without being bad is not always easy to make out. With regard to the spelling it may perhaps be considered by some as queer. But the reader must remember that M. de Lery wrote *currente calamo*, probably even during the course of his journeys, and that, apart from numbers 4 and 5, all the other manuscripts are merely a rough draft.

It is only fair to add this defect was not peculiar to him. Many men of his day, who had been educated to some extent were as deficient in their spelling. The proof that M. de Lery could do better will be found in the journals of 1756, numbers 4 and 5, which are very well written with correct spelling. The latter two manuscripts, with their well executed maps and plans, may be classed among the finest of the period.

M. de Lery's journals now belong to Laval University, Quebec. They were bequeathed to it by the late Abbe Verreau, who had obtained them from the estate of the late Jacques Viger, well known throughout Canada for his historical researches and labors. We cannot tell how they came into his possession.

The reader will judge for himself of the history of the country in general and of certain sections of the United States in particular. This induced Laval University to allow their publication by the Burrows Bros. Co., Cleveland, Ohio, who will follow the general style and arrangement of their great work, "The Jesuit Relations." Patriotic societies and all students of history are greatly indebted to Chas. W. Burrows, president of the Burrows Bros. company, for his historical researches and publications.

The daily entries in de Lery's journal from the time of leaving Presqu'isle (Erie), July 30, 1754, until the arrival at the ruins of the old Fort Sandusky, August 4, give with great detail the courses, distances and the character of the country on the shore of the lake. There are no less than nineteen quite elaborate little sketches of the entrances to the rivers, etc., including five detailed

sketches of the ruins of the old fort (Sandoski) and of Sandusky bay. We give this part of the journal:

Extract from Journal of Joseph Gaspard Chaussegros de Lery, Lieut. des Troupes En route from Quebec to Fort Duquesne but Destination changed at Presque isle (Erie) to Fort Detroit in 1754.

(Presque Isle (Erie) 30 July, 1754)

30th, Tuesday. Started from the presqu isle at half past 4 in the morning. Monsieur Péan, captain, regimental adjutant of Quebec, commanding.....		1
Monsieur St Martin, acting major.....		
Monsieur Lery	Lieutenants	3
Monsieur St Ours.....		
Monsieur Rigauville		
Monsieur Desmeloises		
[127]	Ensigns	4
Monsieur Porneuf		
Monsieur Cournoyer		
Father Bonnecamp jesuit.....		1
Monsieur forget duverger, Priest of the missions Etrangères...		1
Monsieur Mauviles		
Monsieur Vigée	Surgeons	3
Monsieur Garon		
Monsieur Laforce, store-keeper.....		1
Monsieur Constant, an old interpreter among the outaouais, Sauteux, etc.		1
27 Canoes, each carrying 10 men.....		270
		<hr/> 285 men <hr/>

Each canoe was loaded with 25 Packages consisting chiefly of provisions. * * * * *

(128 to 138 omitted).

4th Sunday. (Aug. 4, 1754). We started at 5 h. 22 m. N. W. At $\frac{3}{4}$ of a league, Monsieur de Rigauville landed with Father Bonnecamp, Jesuit, and another canoe. There he took the altitude which was 41 Degrees, 24 Minutes, 54 Seconds. The wind was stormy and a cloud covered the whole sky to the North East. From the point where the altitude was taken to the Point seen in the East, the bearing is E.N.W.; from the same Point to the Point in the West, the bearing is S.E. by S. and N.W. by N. From the Rivière aux hurons, or Rivière au Père, or Rivière au Vermillon, the shore runs S.E. and N.W. for a distance of About 134 Legue in which space is the Entrance to lake

otsandoské. At 10 o'clock I found myself opposite two entrances of a Bay. As my canoe was the nearest to land as well as the most in advance and as I had no guide, I thought this was the entrance of lake otsandoské. The wind was astern and as I steered for the entrance the Rollers were very heavy while I was in the pass on the left as one enters (for the entrance of the lake is divided by a small island) my canoe shipped [139] a great deal of Water. I discovered a great sheet of Water which I took for lake otsandoské. I displayed my flag as a signal to all the canoes which steered for me with the wind astern. Many shipped a good Deal of Water and suffered exceedingly from the heavy wind. I saw them all enter the lake and land at the other end of the island to empty the water out of the canoes. Monsieur Pean had to change his clothes which were wet through. I did not know where the portage was. I imagined that some vestiges still remained of the fort the French had built in 1751 and which was afterwards evacuated. To find it I followed the shore on the north side of the said lake which runs East and West. After proceeding about 3 Leagues, I found a clearing where I landed at noon and discovered the Ruins of the Old fort. I at once had the packages in my canoe carried across the portage. At two o'clock the whole [140] had been taken over. Monsieur Péan arrived at 3 o'clock. The Remainder of the day was spent in portaging the effects and the canoes; three of the latter, however, remained at the Little lake. The portage is 57 arpents in length; starting from the Little lake, it runs N. by N.W. There are three small prairies to be crossed which are at about equal distance from one another; after that is a small grove of trees and then the bank of the River of the Portage on the shore of the great lake where our camp was.

I calculate that, from the River we call Rivière aux Hurons to the Entrance of lake otsandoské, the distance is two Leagues; for the space of one league the shore is bordered merely by a strip of woods, after which is a great prairie which ends at lake otsandoské.

To enable one to understand the Route of this day and that of Father Bonnecamp, jesuit, in passing out of the little lake to [141] Pointe aux cedres, I will indicate in the figure below the route he took outside and that which I followed inside. * * * * *

6th, Tuesday. At 1 h. 40 m. in the afternoon the greater portion of the detachment ordered to go to Michilimaquinak arrived at detroit. Monsieur Péan was in the van, and De Lery formed the rear-guard, Monsieur de St martin, the major, was in the position suited to his rank; Messieurs de St Ours, Neuville, Desmeloises and de Cournoyer commanded the divisions. The said detachment saluted the flag of the fort with three discharges of musketry. We landed at the gardens, that is to say above the fort which fired nine Rockets, while the troops were under arms and the drums beat the general. Monsieur dumuy, the

commandant of the said fort, received Monsieur Péan, our commandant, thirty feet from the gate of the fort where the troops and militia were drawn up and they were dismissed only after Monsieur Péan had entered the fort, whence he sent orders to his canoe to proceed below it; there he pitched his camp adjoining the Enceinte of the fort on the Side facing the village of the Pouteouatamis. The officers encamped in the front line along the hill facing the Water and the troops and militia-men placed their tents behind in four lines. The hurons went to salute the commandant of the detachment. The weather was Fine and the sun very hot; no wind.

7th, Wednesday. The Pouteouatamis saluted the Commandant of the detachment and all the officers, myself in particular because I was to remain at Detroit.

Monsieur le mercier arrived at 9 o'clock in the evening and announced the approaching departure of Monsieur Pean's detachment.

* * *

Extract from Journal of Joseph Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry Lt. des Troupes, return journey from Ft. Detroit to Ft. Du Quesne via Ft. Sandoské on Lac Dot Sandoské in March, 1755.

March 15th, Saturday. As the wind blew from the water and it was impossible to Embark, I decided to leave behind the two Frenchmen who had brought me in the pirogue so that it might take it back to the fort, and to travel by land with the two iroquois. We started at 8 o'clock and at 4 we camped half a league beyond the Pointe aux feviers. We broke through in several places. The weather was cold. We passed two Rivers; one in the middle of the Bay and the other almost at the Pointe aux feviers. The savages were so loaded with our equipment that they were obliged to make traines with our apichimons or bear skins. I calculate that we traveled five and a half Leagues that day.

16th Sunday. The weather was Fine but cold but yet not sufficiently so [264] to allow of our crossing the Streams and Rivers on the ice without breaking through. We crossed the Riviere a toussain in the water; it is wide and shallow and situate a league and a quarter from the Pointe aux feviers. Here is a figure of that River:



We walked over difficult ground full of hot springs and when we had to leave it and go on the shore ice, we ran the risk of breaking our legs, as the ice was not sound and frequently there was No Water underneath. We saw great numbers of swans, bustards, ducks, cranes and other game but they were so wild we could not approach them.

Two of us arrived at the Rivière du Portage. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Thomas, the iroquois from the lake of two mountains who was with me, went along the outer edge of the shore ice to go and

get a pirogue on the other side of the River and it was 5 o'clock when I got across. I left him to await the other savage who had remained behind and I went on to lake Sandoské to see whether we could cross it either in a canoe or on the ice. I arrived there at half past six o'clock after walking continually in the Water of which that portage is full at that season. I found the lake clear of ice and fired three gun-shots, the signal I had arranged with The iroquois who rejoined me at half past seven o'clock. He had not seen his comrade who did not come to sleep with us. We fired several gun-shots to make ourselves heard by the French traders on the South East shore of lake dot Sandoské, but they did not answer. We had nothing for supper but a teal as The savage who had remained behind carried the provisions.

[266] I examined the River of the portage and found its figure different at this season from what it was in the month of August last year when I passed there; the grass was then high and the Water lower.

[268] 17th, Monday. Very early in the morning The iroquois from the lake Started to go and meet the one from the Belle Rivière who had not joined us The previous evening. I placed a flag on the Water's edge and fired several gun-shots to make the traders on the opposite shore see and hear me, but they did not hear any more than on the previous day. At noon the two savages arrived. We placed in the water a large canoe of eight paddles that we found and crossed 3/4 of a league above the Rivière du Poisson dorée. [Pickerel Creek.]

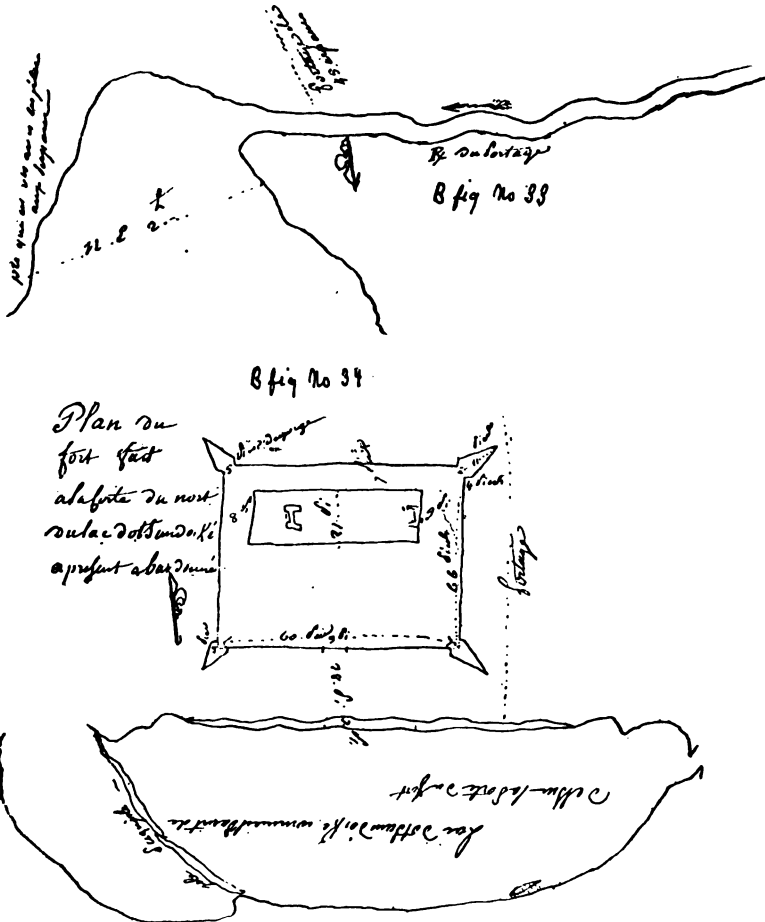
I reached the house of Sieur gouin, a trader, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. We were a long time crossing because our canoe leaked a good deal and I was kept busy bailing while the two savages paddled.
* * * * *

[269] 18th, Tuesday. The wind was from the south and cold; the Sun came out. The savages prepared and made a saddle for the horse that was to carry our provisions. I sent one of them with The huron interpreter to the Little village to get me a guide and I particularly charged the latter with that mission; also to buy a horse for me. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon The interpreter and the savage Returned without either guide or horse. Our two savages decided to take the route via the presqu isle by canoe. This, added to what the hurons told me about the Rivers having overflowed their banks and the woods being full of Water, led me to decide to go in a Canoe.

[270] I had one of six paddles prepared with all its fittings to be ready to start very early the following morning. I wrote to Monsieur the Commandant of detroit and sent him the Statement of the few supplies advanced me by Sieur gouin for those who owned the canoe which I might Perhaps Leave at the Rivière a sequin called gayahagué.

19th. Wednesday. I was unable to start before noon because the canoe had to be gummed as it leaked a great deal. I went to sleep at

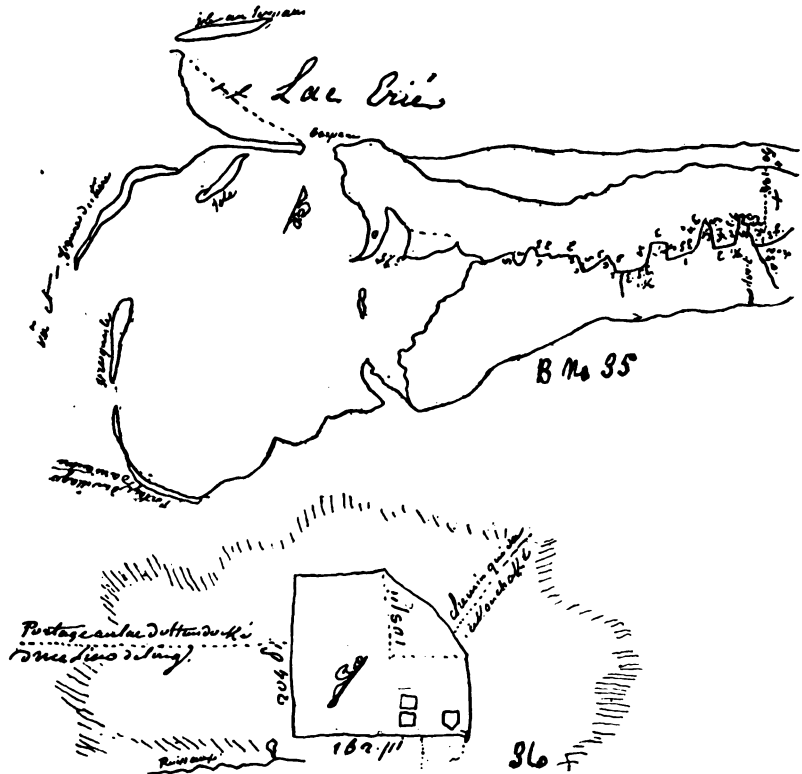
the head of lake Sandoské in a place sheltered from the wind. The weather was Fine. We went to the Point on the lake to see whether there was Much ice. We found shore ice and, as the weather was setting in fine, this led us to Hope that we should reach whither we proposed going with fair ease.



[271] I calculate that we traveled $4\frac{1}{2}$ Leagues. Figure of the entrance of lake dot Sandoské and view of the lands to the West with the Plan of the swamp as far as the portage of the village of ainoton.

[272] 20th, Thursday, Heavy gale from the north east. We remained, being unable to put our canoe in the Water.

21st, Friday. At 7 o'clock in the morning we embarked to go to the head of the swamp of lake dot Sandoské to the East. We went about a league and a half and portaged over to the great Lake which we found full of ice. This compelled us to retrace our steps and go to the Portage of the village of aniauton, which we did. At 5 o'clock we reached the said village whereof only three cabins and some palisades remain. We decided to take the conchaké Route although it was long.

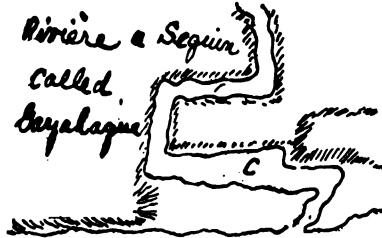


We asked a huron to guide us. I offered him the value of a beaver skin to [273] take us to the Rivière à Séguin, but he refused, saying that his nation would think he was going on the war-path. This, in addition to the trouble the men of that nation had caused with the same object some days previously, led me to think that he would perhaps not submit without compulsion to all that might be favorable to us on The oyo.

The Place where we were is that where the hurons took refuge

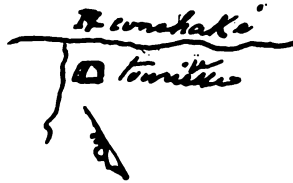
after Leaving isle aux bois blanc and killed the Frenchmen. They had erected a fort there whereof the following is the figure.

[274] 22d, Saturday. Very early in the morning one of my savages started to go to the house of Sieur gouin, the Trader, at the lake, to get his horse. We got our packages ready to start in the the afternoon if he returned in time. I wrote Sieur gouin to Send two Frenchmen to get his canoe with its fittings left on the lake shore on the Portage of the village.



There was no more snow on the ground and this caused the woods to be full of Water. We had found a good deal on the previous day on our way to the village. At 5 o'clock the savage who had gone to get the horse, returned. The Frenchmen were to come the following day to take away their Canoe.

I wrote to Monsieur du muy and to Madame de Lery and dated the letters the 23rd March. The weather was fine with a little rain in the morning.



[275] An anniez who had passed the winter at a three days' march from this village, arrived. He was going to trade at Sandoské. He told me he had a horse for sale. I accepted the offer. He promised to join me in two days on his return from the trade and deliver me the horse.

23rd, Sunday. At half past 8 o'clock in the morning we started on the Conchaké road for Fort Duquesne. * * *

The importance of the "De Lery" portage and the location of old fort Sandusky at the entrance to the Sandusky country is shown not only by the desire of the renegade Nicolas to occupy and hold this point of strategic importance almost midway between the French outpost at Detroit and the English outposts or settlements in Pennsylvania and Virginia on the headwaters of the Ohio. Fort Sandusky, the first fort in Ohio, originally built by the British in 1745 and destroyed by the French when they made Nicolas sue for peace in 1748, is located in the early map of Evans as "usurped by the French in 1751." The French built their post at Junundat at the point described by de Lery

as the location of the trading post of *Sieur Gouin*, and marked in the early maps *Ft. Junundat*, 1754. This in turn was destroyed by the British after the capture of *Ft. du Quesne* by the British in 1758, so that immediately after the surrender of all French territory in America, Sept. 8, 1760, when Major Robert Rogers was sent out to take possession of the western forts the importance of a new fort at Sandusky was realized and frequent references made in contemporary reports and letters.



MAJOR ROBERT ROGERS.
1727-1784.

Captain Campbell, of Detroit, wrote to Bouquet, Dec. 11, 1760: "A small post at Sandusky would be useful for the communication with Pittsburg." The following August, 1761, Captain Cochrane writes from *Presque'isle* that he is to build a fort at Sandusky, the order being from Amherst. Sept. 1, 1761, Lieut. Elias Meyer writes in French to Bouquet that he has been surveying, and had fixed on a good spot for a blockhouse, three miles from a village called by the Indians *Canoutout*, where all the traders unload and load their goods for Detroit; it is almost in the middle of

Little Lake Sandusky. The blockhouse and palisades were finished Nov. 29, 1761.

On the 8th of September, 1760, following Wolfe's Victory on the Plains of Abraham, Quebec, Canada with all its dependencies, was surrendered to the British crown. It still remained to carry into effect the full terms of the conquest by taking over the western forts, and this difficult and perilous task was assigned to

Major Robert Rogers* of New Hampshire, an old commander of Putnam and Stark.

On Sept. 12, 1760, Rogers, at the height of his reputation received orders from General Amherst, the British commander-in-chief in America, to ascend the St. Lawrence and take possession of the western forts; and he left Montreal the next day, with 200 Rangers, "half hunters, half woodsmen, armed like Indians with hatchet, gun and knife;" artillery commanded by Lieut. Davis; and Lieut. Brehm, assistant engineer, who delivered dispatches and summons to surrender to Captain Belètre, the commandant at Detroit. Belètre at first refused to believe that Canada had capitulated, but on receipt of the letter from Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, he was forced to yield and accompanied Rogers on his eastward trip to Philadelphia†

Rogers' return was by land, via the Sandusky and Tuscarawas trail to Ft. Pitt. Jan. 2, 1761, says his Journal: "We arrived at Lake Sandusky." The following month, namely Feb. 3, 1761, Bouquet wrote to Amherst: "Lieutenant Meyer has left Ensign Pauli and fifteen men at Sandusky." This is the first mention of H. C. Pauli, who was in command of the garrison of Ft. Sandusky. Several letters and reports from him are among the Bouquet collection, now in the Canadian Archives, and he uniformly used this spelling of his name, although Parkman and some other historians write it Paully. Feb. 19, 1762, Pauli wrote to Bouquet that the Indians were discontented about the block-house; and inquired how he should behave if they became insolent.

*Rogers is described as "tall and strong of person and rough of feature; versed in all the arts of woodcraft, sagacious, prompt and resolute; his mind by no means uncultivated. But his vain, restless and grasping spirit and more than doubtful honesty proved the ruin of an enviable reputation. Six years after his western expedition he was tried by court martial for a meditated act of treason, the surrender of Ft. Michillimackinac to the Spaniards at that time masters of Upper Louisiana. Not long after he went to Africa and fought two battles under the Dey of Algiers. Returning to take part in the American Revolution he was suspected by Washington of playing the part of a spy; openly espoused the British cause; and in 1778 was banished from New Hampshire. The time and place of his death is unknown.—Condensed from Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac."

† Mante's History of the Late War, 177

In May he reported that the chiefs had given leave to Philip Boyle to plant corn; that the Iroquois were very quiet and the department healthy. The batteaux left for the winter thirty miles off were found, when sent for, to be nearly ruined by the Indians probably for the nails; and the men on their return lost in the storm the only canoe he had. In July he reported his men had fever from the bad water and asked for medicine. Provisions were scarce. In August, provisions had been delivered by Captain Robertson, commanding a vessel on Lake Erie, which could not get into Lake Sandusky from shallowness of the water. Men of his old party were ill.

Rogers and his Rangers had been met somewhere near the mouth of Grand River, east of Cleveland, by Pontiac, who haughtily demanded their business. Later he gave them his lofty permission "to pass through the country unmolested." The great Ottawa leader here stands prominently forward in history for the first time. He believed that if all the tribes could be made to unite in a grand assault upon the English, there might be a chance of overthrowing them; and he had succeeded in arousing to bloodshed most of the tribes between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi. A detail of his plan of procedure was to attack all the English forts upon the same day; and having destroyed the garrisons to devastate the defenseless frontier and concentrate upon the more populous centers. Early in May, 1763, the storm burst. "Nine British forts yielded instantly, Detroit and Ft. Pitt alone escaping capture; and the savages drank, scooped up in hollow of joined hands the blood of many a Briton;—Sandusky was the first to fall." On the 16th of May, Pauli, the commanding officer, was informed that some Indians were waiting at the gate to speak to him. As several of the number were well known to him he ordered them without hesitation to be admitted. Arriving at his headquarters, two of the treacherous visitors seated themselves on either side of the commandant, while the rest were disposed in various parts of the room. The pipes were lighted and the conversation begun, when an Indian who stood in the doorway suddenly made a signal by raising his head. Upon this the astonished officer was instantly pounced upon and disarmed; while at the same moment a confused noise of shrieks

and yells, the firing of guns and the hurried tramp of feet sounded from the area of the fort without. It soon ceased, however, and Pauli, led by his captors from the room saw the parade ground strewn with the corpses of his murdered garrison. At nightfall he was conducted to the margin of the lake, where several birch canoes lay in readiness, and as amid the thick darkness the party pushed out from shore the captive saw the fort lately under his command bursting into sheets of flame.*

Pauli was carried to Detroit, bound hand and foot and solaced on the way with the expectation of being burned alive. However on landing at the camp of Pontiac he was surrounded by a crowd of Indians who pelted him with stones, sticks and gravel forcing him to sing and dance. An old woman whose husband had lately died chose to adopt him in place of the deceased warrior. He was plunged into the river that the white blood might be washed from his veins; conducted to the lodge of the widow and treated henceforth with all the consideration due to an Ottawa warrior. This forced match took place about the 20th of May, and in July following a divorce occurred. One evening a man was seen running toward the fort at Detroit, closely pursued by Indians. On his arriving within gunshot they gave over the chase and the fugitive came panting beneath the walls, where a wicket was flung open to receive him. He proved to be the commandant at Fort Sandusky who had seized the first opportunity to escape from the embraces of the Ottawa widow.†

Meanwhile Pontiac himself was besieging Detroit, which garrison heard through one La Brosse, a Canadian who came to the gate, that Ft. Sandusky had been taken and all its garrison slain or captured. Pauli had sent through one of the Canadian inhabitants a report to Major Gladwin, commandant at Detroit, giving a full account of the capture; and on July 6, proceedings of a court of inquiry were held by Major Gladwin to ascertain the manner of the taking of Fort Sandusky.

*"Conspiracy of Pontiac;" and MS official Document Report of the Loss of the Posts in the Indian country, inclosed in a letter from Major Gladwin to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, July 8, 1763.

† Taylor's Ohio.

Lieutenant Cuyler with ninety-six men and twenty-three batteaux laden with stores was on the way to the relief of Detroit, along the northern shore of Lake Erie, when a band of Wyandots was sent to intercept him, which they did, May 28, at Point Pelée. Cuyler's boats had been beached and the party prepared to encamp. They were surprised by the Indians and a hot blaze of musketry took place from both sides. Then the Indians charged and the soldiers fled panic-stricken to their boats. Five were set afloat and pushed off. Cuyler seeing himself deserted waded up to his neck in the water and climbed into a boat.



HENRY GLADWIN.

One other beside him escaped, and rowing all night the party of thirty men reached Fort Sandusky, which of course they found burned, and proceeded thence to Niagara.

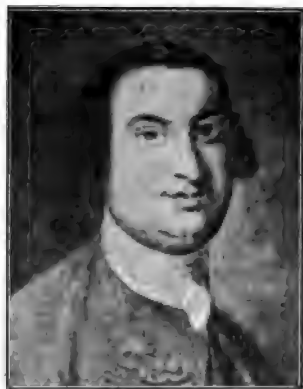
The tragedy at Fort Sandusky did not long remain unavenged. On the 26th of July, a detachment of 260 men under command of Captain Dalyell arrived at the ruins of the old fort, on their coastwise route along the southern shore of Lake Erie to the relief of Detroit. Furious at the devastation presented by the ruins of the

burned fort and the decomposing bodies of the garrison, Dalyell decided to tarry a few days and inflict punishment of the perpetrators of the deed. He marched inland to the Wyandot village at the lower falls of the Sandusky (now Fremont), which he burned to the ground, at the same time destroying the adjacent fields of standing corn. This inadequate retribution voiced the soldiers' hatred of savage treachery — the turning of the hitherto friendly Wyandot against Pauli's little English force, just as sixteen years earlier Nicolas and his Hurons had, near the same place, turned against their whilom friends and associates, the French.

Dalyell then continued his journey northward and under cover of night effected a junction with the Detroit garrison. Dalyell had been the companion of Israel Putnam in some of the

most adventurous passages of that veteran's life, but more recently had acted as aide-de-camp to Sir Jeffrey Amherst. On the very day of his arrival he persuaded Gladwin to let him make a night attack on Pontiac's forces, which resulted in his own death and the loss of fifty-nine of his men at Bloody Run. Major Robert Rogers, trained in frontier warfare, who succeeded to the command, with his Rangers put the ambushed savages to flight; while two batteaux from the fort came to his own relief and an orderly retreat was made. This Indian victory restored the waning fortune of Pontiac and brought daily accessions to his forces.

In the spring of 1764 the frontiers were still alarmed by



COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET.

savage incursions, and General Gage who had succeeded General Amherst in command of the British forces in America resolved to send two expeditions into the heart of the enemy's country, to punish the Indians and regain possession of the forts. Col. Henry Bouquet, a Swiss officer who had served for seven years in the British army in America, was in command of the expedition marching into the Ohio country from Ft. Pitt, while the northern army commanded by Col. Bradstreet, was to proceed to Detroit via the lakes. Bradstreet set

out from Albany with the following force: 243 men of the 17th Regiment; 98 of the 55th; 344 New York Battalion; 209 New Jersey Battalion; 73 boatmen; total 1183. The Connecticut battalion was under Israel Putnam, the future hero of Bunker Hill. The chief engineer of the expedition was Lieut. John Montresor, to whom we shall refer later. From Lake Ontario the army proceeded westward in two vessels, 75 whaleboats and numberless canoes, stopping to found a fort at Erie and resting near the ruins of old Fort Sandusky.

Bradstreet had been ordered by Gage to chastise the Indians whenever they appeared in arms, but all hostile indications ceased at his advance. On the 12th of August, near Presque Isle (Erie)

a delegation of Indians met him purporting to represent several tribes, promising that all prisoners should be delivered at Lower Sandusky within twenty-five days, that all claims to the posts of the English in the west were to be abandoned, and leave given to erect as many forts and trading posts as should be necessary for the security of the traders, with a grant of as much land around each post as a cannon could throw a shot over; that if any Indian killed an Englishman he should be delivered at Fort Pitt for trial; and that if one tribe violated the peace the others would unite in punishing them.*

The terms seemed honorable, but there is reason to believe that the tribes had not authorized this delegation to speak for them. Parkman insists that they were only spies and that Bradstreet was duped. Taylor believes Parkman's strictures on Bradstreet too severe; but it is not necessary to enter into that discussion here. That the Indians were sending one delegation to him with peace propositions at the same time they were sending others to stir up the tribes to war is shown from the journal of Capt. Thomas Morris, an English officer of the 17th Regiment, who was sent to visit the Indians along the Maumee, Wabash and Indian Rivers, while Bradstreet was at Detroit and Sandusky. His journal is in the State Paper Office in London.† For details of his thrilling trip — how he met an Indian riding a superb white horse which Braddock had ridden in his fatal expedition; and how an Indian chief traded



ISRAEL PUTNAM.
1718-1790.

*Taylor's Ohio.

†Reprinted by Arthur Clark Co., Cleveland, 1904.

Morris a copy of Shakespeare for some gunpowder — see Parkman's *Pontiac*, vol. II. Morris wrote to Bradstreet, Sept. 18, 1764: "The villains have nipped our fairest hopes (of peace) in the bud. I tremble for you at Sandusky; though I was greatly pleased to find that you have one of the vessels with you and artillery. I wish the chiefs were assembled on board the vessel and that she had a hole in her bottom."

Camping near the ruins of old Fort Sandusky, Bradstreet spared the Wyandot villages, the Indians agreeing to make their

submission at Detroit, which place was entered by his army Aug. 26th. After arranging matters there, Bradstreet left seven companies of the 7th Reg't., under Lieut.-Col. Campbell, and returned to Sandusky Lake, Sept. 18, 1764.

We have already referred to Lieut. John Montresor, the engineer of Bradstreet's army, whose journals first printed in the New York Historical collection for 1881 cast a new light upon many of the most important occurrences of Bradstreet's expedition and the old French and Indian wars. Montresor was,



JOHN MONTRESOR, *Chief Engineer.*

Photographic Copy of an Artotype Reproduction of a Portrait, Published in the Collections of New York Historical Society for the Year 1881.

like de Lery, the son of a famous engineer, the elder Montresor having been ordered to America in 1757, where he planned and built several fortifications about New York. His eldest son John served as assistant engineer under his father at Gibraltar, and was gazetted chief engineer under General Braddock in that officer's American campaign. He was wounded in that disastrous engagement, July 9, 1755; was at the capitulation of Quebec in 1760, and to his talent as an artist we are indebted for an excellent likeness in profile of General Wolfe taken in camp

near Quebec. In 1763 he assisted in the relief of Major Gladwin at Detroit when besieged by Pontiac's army, and in 1764 was engineer of Bradstreet's expedition. Later he was principal engineer during the occupation of Boston and New York by the British troops, and in Dec., 1775, was made by George III. "chief engineer in America." He was present as one of the managers of the celebrated ball "Mischianza" given in Philadelphia by the British officers to Sir William Howe on the eve of his departure for England. After the close of the American Revolution Montresor returned to England where he obtained the rank of Colonel, traveled extensively and died June 26, 1799. His portrait by Copley shows what a fine specimen of manhood he was. His valuable journals contain many illuminating references to the period and the locality with which we are concerned. I insert a considerable portion of this interesting journal:

Sept. 7, 1764. Proposed by Col. Bradstreet that the army set out for Sandusky in three days. Up that river (at the Lower Falls—Freemont), was the rendezvous proposed where Col. B. should entrench till the arrival there of the troops under command of Col. Bouquet.

Sept. 12. Received orders from Col. Bradstreet to make out a small proportion for building a fort at Sandusky if the Indians on our arrival there don't comply with the articles agreed to on Aug. 12.

13th. Arrived advice from Sandusky that the Indians to the number of 800 warriors had assembled there to oppose our troops from disembarkation instead of ratifying the treaty.

14th. The whole embarked. Our present number of boats, 60 of the Long Boats and one Barge. Put on board a proportion of intrenching tools necessary for establishing a post at Sandusky if necessary.

15th. This morning we were met in a birch canoe by officers sent to Sandusky who brought us account that they were not well treated by some of that village, that the reason of their being so tardy in their determination was owing to their having been promised by the Upper Nations to make some stroke, that by what could be learned they propose assembling about 1,000 warriors to surprise us when in council at Sandusky and to murder the whole, but they hoped forgiveness for the ill advice of their sachems.—Two Indians seen on horseback. The savages in these parts possess, including the Shawanese, about 6,000 horses.

17th. Accounts arrived that the Delawares and Shawanese are assembled at Sandusky where the old Fort stood that the Indians burnt

last year, a bad place for the boats. The whole set sail and arrived at Thistle Creek about one mile and three-quarters to the eastward of it, but the water failing returned and encamped a half mile to the westward of the old Fort. A good clay beach. Found at the old Fort the officer of the 80th sent with provisions from Detroit.

19th. The channel of Sandusky was sounded and found sufficient water for the vessels now on Lake Erie to enter. Arrived the sachem Manitou and the great war chief of the Ottawas with twelve more young warriors to attend the general council to be held there. Remark that the water rises and falls upward of two feet perpendicular, the difference between the winds blowing in and out of this lake.

20th. As the nations expected to ratify the treaty propose taking the route of the upper village of the Hurons 60 miles from the first rapids on the river of Sandusky, the whole embarked and proceeded and encamped one mile below the rapids in order to meet them one day sooner and also to be so much nearer to attack their villages on the Ohio should they not comply with every article alluded to in the treaty of peace. The country covered with Game. The land extremely rich, interspersed near the borders of the Rivers and lake with large tracts of meadow. This camp very advantageously situated on the rising ground and open woods as per draught. The most of this river from the entrance to the rapids being about 18 miles is 5 fathoms water the first six miles up meadow, the rest woods, are part with another 80 yards Broad. The evening and morning gun ordered to be fired, with the camp duties as before. A considerable difference observed in the climate becoming more moderate.

21. The quarter guards of the several battalions and detachments defended by Fleches and Redoubts with 6 light field 6 pounders in the intervals. The Indians from the neighboring village at the Rapids (Lower Sandusky), which for the most part is abandoned this spring, brought in the produce of their settlement chiefly consisting of melons, squashes and Indian corn to traffic with the troops for salt, rum, etc. Arrived an express from Miamis fort not being permitted to proceed any further by the Miamis. The warriors in that river assembled 700 strong. When he was at the fort, 15 Shawanese and Delawares arrived there with 14 belts to the several nations to carry on the war against the English as well as themselves having vowed enmity to us as long as the sun would shine, as per journal from Capt. Morris wherein is set forth the several escapes he made of being scalped — A Council was held this night between Col. Bradstreet and the chiefs of several nations now encamped with us acquainting them with the above accounts. Desiring to hear their sentiments with regard to them tomorrow in Council. The Indians counceled together the chief of the night. The schooner with materials, etc., discovered at anchor near the entrance of Lake Sandusky. — Arrived from the Upper Huron village of Sandusky, 60 miles from hence,

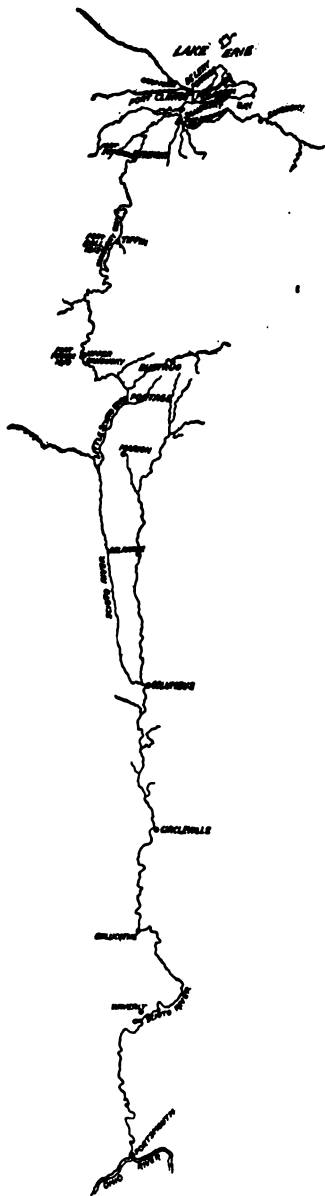
accounts that the chiefs of that nation were preparing to come down and ratify the peace made with us.

22d. A Council held this afternoon between Col. Bradstreet and several friendly Indian chiefs. The result that 3 Indians should be dispatched to see if the Delawares and Shawanese were on their Rout, if they were to hasten them. On examining the provisions found sufficient but for 20 days for the Troops. I went to the Huron village (Lower Sandusky), and took sketch and bearings of that advantageous and beautiful situation and the meanderings of the river. Remarked that *the left of our encampment is contiguous to the remains of an old Fort* where the Delawares and some of the Western Indians took post to shelter themselves against the Iroquois near 100 years ago—this constructed in the form of a circle 300 yards in circumference, one-half defended by the river and a remarkable hollow or gully which covers the left and part of the front of our present encampment. The works thrown up for the defence of the camp completed by the respective corps that were to occupy them.

23d. No accounts arrived as yet from the chiefs of the Nations expected. Orders for the Troops to receive 2 days provisions and to cook it. The Gun to fire at four o'clock in the morning at which time the tents are to be struck and the whole to embark and proceed at the Beating of the General, a very necessary movement as affairs do not wear the best appearance from the delay of our enemies who were to assemble to fulfill and ratify the articles of the peace agreed on and for near 12 miles of this river is one entire Defile. Arrived accounts that the Schooner was drove back to la Petite Isle.

24th. The whole returned down the river. Entered the lake, or rather the Bay of Sandusky and continued on it till we arrived three-quarters of a mile above where the French Fort stood on the carrying place between the Lakes Sandusky and Erie, where we encamped. A working party set to work immediately in clearing the ground to construct a fort on. Made the Design, marked out the work and began on cutting the trenches and felling timber for Stockades, etc.—Rowed this day to the present encampment Seven Leagues.

25th. This morning at daybreak a long boat was dispatched to the Schooner with letters for Detroit where she is immediately to proceed after delivering into the boat the materials, etc., belonging to the Engineers for carrying on the Fort. Arrived a canoe from up the River of Sandusky with advices that some of the Hurons of the Upper Villages had arrived at the lower one and that some of the Delawares and Shawanese had been there on their way to us, but that the courier dispatched by the officer of the 80th had sent them back for their prisoners. Two Ottawa chiefs arrived in our camp on horseback from Les Pariries des Mascoutins up the river Miamis, confirming the accounts transmitted by the officer of the 17th to Col. Bradstreet, also that the Miamis, Quicapous, Mascoutins, and Powtowsatomies of St. Joseph



The Sandusky-Scioto Water-Course, Showing Connecting Portage.

had danced the war dance having accepted the Belts sent by the Delawares, Shawanese and Senecas before the return of the 2 Miamis chiefs that signed the articles of peace made with Col. Bradstreet at Detroit.—Arrived an express from Gen. Gage to Col. Bradstreet by way of Niagara by an officer of the 46th Regt., who took the side of Lake Erie and fortunately fell in with the Long Boat sent to the vessel from this Camp. Contents of that despatch from the Commander in Chief. The Disapprobation of the Peace concluded with the Delaware, Shawanese, Savages of Scioto Plains and Hurons of Sandusky, notwithstanding the Orders, "make peace with those Savages who should offer it," and that extraordinary peace granted to the Senecas and that branch of them called the Jennessee at Niagara in August after that recent and most barbarous stroke Sept., 1763, on the Niagara Carrying Place—containing also the absolute necessity of 12 of the Delawares and Shawanese to be delivered up to be put to death and advice of Col. Bouquet being on his march against the Ohio Indians by way of Fort Pitt which he was to leave the 1st October.

26th. Working parties continue in constructing the Intended Fort. Early this morning was dispatched two long boats to the Lower Huron village (Lower Sandusky), near our last encampment on the River of Sandusky to immediately bring our Indians we left there. This morning about eleven o'clock I received orders to discontinue the Works, the several parties were dismissed accordingly. Arrived a birch canoe with Hurons informing us that 40 warriors and chiefs exclusive of women were on the opposite side of the lake at an old village on the river Poisson d'ontario; that they had brought some prisoners down with them belonging to their band. Provisions were ordered for the whole and sent them, in the same canoe.

27th. Four long boats sent off for the Hurons and prisoners to the opposite side of the lake. Two long boats one of which a Gun Boat detached to the Point of the Lake with a Captain of the 80th, two subalterns and 20 men to fire a gun in case any vessel arrives either from Detroit or Fort Erie and to be answered from our encampment. The two long boats sent up the Sandusky river to hasten the return of the Indians arrived this morning and brought several in them. A Grand Council held with the Indians at Headquarters. Returned the four boats and brought 102 Wiandots and one prisoner (boy) who came all on horses.

7th. By the behavior of the 6 Nations in general now with us I sincerely apprehend them to be the greatest enemies to his Britain Majesty in North America.

Oct. 12. An armed long boat despatched for to receive the party where the Old Fort stood expected in this day. Strength of our troops present 1,400, beside 200 Indians.

14th. An Indian confirmed this day that what I before remarked in this Journal with regard to the designs of the enemy who was present when the plot was laid which was as follows: That on our arrival at Sandusky, that 300 picked men should promiscuously join us in order to treat with us at Sandusky, each armed with either tomahawk or scalping knife, that they should encamp on our right and left according to our usual custom of encamping Indians when with us—that they were to dance every night, that 400 others armed with spears were to be near at hand and when they should find us least on our guard they were to tomahawk us, seconded by those without. Completed my plans of the south side of Lake Erie as far as the mouth of the Lake of Sandusky.

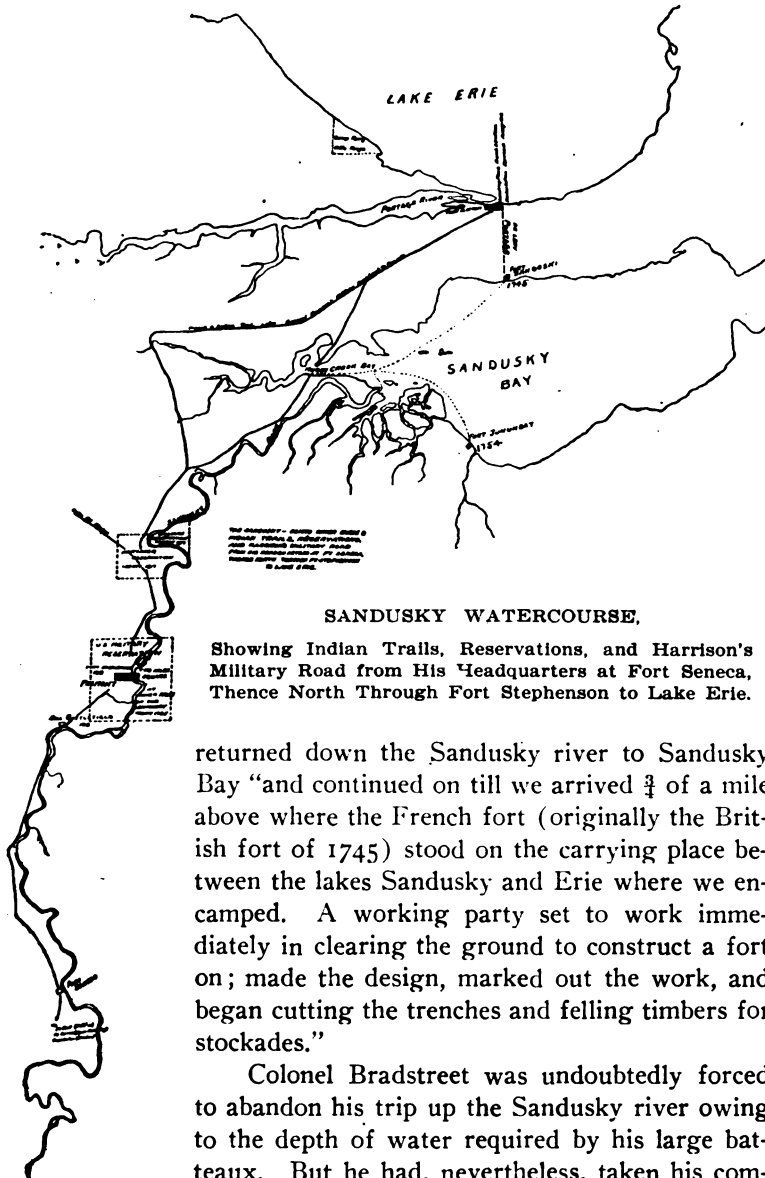
Oct. 18. Whole decamped and embarked for Niagara.

Montresor mentions the orders received from Col. Bradstreet to take the necessary supplies to build a fort at the ruins where old fort Sandoski stood and mentions the good clay beach a half mile to the westward of the old fort where the Bradstreet expedition encamped. On Sept. 20 he relates "that as the nations expected to ratify the treaty, proposed taking the route of the upper village of the Hurons, 60 miles from the first rapids on the river of Sandusky, the whole (expedition in order to meet them one day sooner at the Lower Falls of the Sandusky and also to be so much nearer to attack their villages on the Ohio should they fail to comply with every article alluded to in the treaty of peace. This day's route 30 miles. * * * This camp very advantageously situated on a rising ground and open woods as

per draft. The evening and morning gun ordered to be fired, with the camp duties, etc., as before. Sept. 21. The Quarter guards of the several battalions and detachments defended by fleches and redoubts with six light field 6-pounders in the intervals. On the 22d, Montresor writes: "I went to the Huron village (destroyed by Captain Dalyell the previous year) and took sketches and bearings of that advantageous and beautiful situation and the meanderings of the river. Remarked that the left of our encampment is contiguous to the remains of an old fort where the Delawares and some of the western Indians took shelter themselves against the Iroquois near 100 years ago. This construction in the form of a circle 300 yards in circumference, one-half defended by the river, is a remarkable hollow way or gully which covers the left and part of the front of our present encampment."

The above description by Montresor, of Bradstreet's camp in the northern portion of the two mile square reservation forming Fremont, is readily recognized. Bradstreet's army of 1,100 men with cannon was encamped on the high ground extending from the present site of Fort Stephenson in a semi-circle around the bluff to the present Sandusky County Fair Grounds, at which latter point and as a protection to the left of his line Israel Putnam constructed fleches and redoubts. Montresor's description of the Indian ruins in the form of a circle refers to the traditional story of the free or neutral city of the Indians located at this point. One of their villages or forts is supposed to have been on the east bank of the Sandusky above the falls in the vicinity of what is known as the Blue Banks. Diagonally opposite to it on the northwestern portion of the two-mile reservation was the other free city, located as described by Montresor, near the present fair grounds. On the low land between the encampment and the river was the course over which 20 years later the unfortunate white captives from the Ohio river country were forced to run the gauntlet, so graphically described by the Moravian missionary Heckewelder while he himself with Zeisberger and the other missionaries was a prisoner here en route to Detroit.

On the 24th of September, Colonel Bradstreet's command



SANDUSKY WATERCOURSE,

Showing Indian Trails, Reservations, and Harrison's Military Road from His Headquarters at Fort Seneca, Thence North Through Fort Stephenson to Lake Erie.

returned down the Sandusky river to Sandusky Bay "and continued on till we arrived $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile above where the French fort (originally the British fort of 1745) stood on the carrying place between the lakes Sandusky and Erie where we encamped. A working party set to work immediately in clearing the ground to construct a fort on; made the design, marked out the work, and began cutting the trenches and felling timbers for stockades."

Colonel Bradstreet was undoubtedly forced to abandon his trip up the Sandusky river owing to the depth of water required by his large batteaux. But he had, nevertheless, taken his command into the very heart of the Indian country and caused the

Indians to sue for peace and agree to restore to the whites the captives demanded by them as the necessary precursor of peace. Thus it came to pass that Colonel Bouquet with his expedition which scarcely reached the southern confines of the warlike Wyandots at the head of the Muskingum river received the surrender of the whites and all the glory in connection therewith; while Colonel Bradstreet had the humiliation of having all his treaties disapproved by the British commander-in-chief, and actually returned in disgrace. Bradstreet was undoubtedly so chagrined at the treatment by General Gage that he left the Sandusky country hurriedly in a rage, even leaving some of his men who were engaged in hunting. Three days later he met with a serious disaster off the mouth of Rocky River from which place his command returned to Albany after suffering untold hardships.

Our next knowledge of Lower Sandusky comes from Captain Samuel Brady, the scout, whom Washington sent out for information upon the movements of the Indians of this region. He approached the village under cover of night, forded the river and hid himself on the island, since known as Brady's Island, just below the present State Street bridge. The next morning he was an unsuspected witness at a horse race. A war party had just arrived from Kentucky with some fine horses. They were lined up along the west bank of the river. A white mare won race after race. Wearying of the monotony the Indians put two riders upon her. Still she came in victorious. A third man was added, which load sufficed to defeat her, and seemed to delight the spectators. Brady escaped that night and reported to Washington that the Indians were engrossed with other matters than war.

In 1778 Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton were each led captive through this village. Both fortunately escaped their Indian captors. Preceding and following the Revolutionary War more Indian captives were brought to Lower Sandusky than to any other place. The Moravian missionaries Heckewelder and Zeisberger as prisoners were lodged in the houses of Arundel and Robbins in the spring of 1781. The two English traders Arundel and Robbins were settled at the Wyandot village at the

foot of the lower rapids of the Sandusky river, Lower Sandusky (now Fremont), which was recorded in Hutchin's map of 1764 as Junqueindundeh. Here they observed the ordeal of running the gauntlet. Heckewelder in his History of the Indian Nations writes :



DANIEL BOONE.
1735-1820.

"In the month of April, 1782, when I was myself a prisoner at Lower Sandusky, waiting for an opportunity to proceed with a trader to Detroit, three American prisoners were brought in by fourteen warriors. As soon as they had crossed the river they were told to run as hard as they could to a painted post which was shown to them. The youngest of the three without a mo-

ment's hesitation immediately started for it, and reached it without receiving a single blow; the second hesitated for a moment, but recollecting himself he also ran as fast as he could and likewise reached the post unhurt. The third, frightened at seeing so many men, women and children with weapons in their hands ready to strike him, kept begging the captain to spare him, saying he was a mason and would build him a fine large house or do any work for him.

"'Run for your life,' said the chief to him, 'and don't talk now of building houses!' The captain turned his back upon him and our mason now began to run, but received many a hard blow, one of which nearly brought him to the ground, which if he had fallen would have decided his fate. He however reached the goal sadly bruised, and was beside bitterly reproached as a vile coward while the others were hailed as brave men and received tokens of universal approbation."



JOHN HECKEWELDER.
1743-1823.

Heckewelder also relates how Girty, the white renegade, had ordered the Moravian captives to be driven on foot to Detroit "the same as if we were cattle, and never make a halt for the purpose of the women giving suck to their children; to foot it every step of the way." The kindhearted Frenchman, Levallie, who received Girty's order disobeyed it, however, sent a runner to the commandant at Detroit representing the situation of the large band of captives and got boats to take them from Lower Sandusky down the Sandusky river and thence to Detroit.

The massacre of the Moravians in their villages on the Muskingum, which occurred in 1782, falls outside the limits of this sketch, as does Crawford's expedition and awful death at Upper Sandusky in May, 1782. Crawford, though ten years the senior, had learned surveying under Washington and had recently, in his humble cabin on the banks of the Youghioghenny, been visited by the commander-in-chief. Butler's Rangers were sent by De Peyster, the British commandant at Detroit, to support the Indians against Crawford's advancing force of American volun-

teers. The Rangers were mounted and took two cannon and a mortar. Their horses were sent around the lake by land, while they with their arms and cannon took boat to Lower Sandusky, where their horses met them for the advance. At the lower village, too, were the traders who, at Crawford's approach, had fled from Upper Sandusky.

In Western Reserve Historical Tract, No. 22, entitled Cleveland in the War of the Revolution, though the compiler is obliged



MAJOR A. S. DE PEYSTER.
1736-1832.

to acknowledge "that there is no sign of occupancy at the mouth of the Cuyahoga," nevertheless this Tract is of intense interest to us as calling attention to the fact that the British had in 1782 "established a post at Lower Sandusky," and firmly establishes the claim of Fremont to participation in the events of the American Revolution. The letter is an order from the commandant at Fort Pitt, Brig. General William Irvine, the intimate friend of Washington, to Major Isaac Craig, and contains the definite statement "that the British have

established a post at Lower Sandusky." It reads:

"FORT PITT, Nov. 11, 1782.

"SIR:—I have received intelligence through various channels, that the British have established a post at *Lower Sandusky*; and also information that it is suspected they intend erecting one either at Cuyahoga Creek or Grand River, (Fairport). But as these accounts are not from persons of military knowledge, nor to be fully relied upon in any particular, and I am anxious to have the facts well established; you will therefore proceeded with Lieutenant Rose,* my aid-de-camp, and six active

* Lieut. Rose, it will be remembered, was sent by Gen. Irvine as his representative with the ill-fated expedition of Col. Crawford against the

men, in order to reconnoiter these two places, particularly Cuyahoga. As your party is so small you will use every precaution to avoid being discovered, which service I expect you will be able to perform, as they will probably be relaxed in discipline at this advanced season of the year.



BRIG. GEN. WM. IRVINE.
1741-1804.

When you have reconnoitered these posts (if any), you may try to take a prisoner, provided it can be done without much risk of and losing any of your party; which must be guarded against at all events, as it is not your business to come to action. My reasons for allowing you so small a party being to avoid discovery. I know your zeal will excite you to go to lengths perhaps even beyond your judgment, in order to effect the purposes of your excursion. But notwithstanding my earnest desire to obtain accurate accounts of the matter mentioned herein, you will please keep in view that I am extremely solicitous that every man may be brought back safe, and that one man falling into the hands of the enemy may not only ruin your whole present business but also

prevent future discovery. As it may be necessary for you to detach or separate from Mr. Rose, it will be proper for you to give him a certified copy of this order.

I am sir your obedient humble servant,

WM. IRVINE, B. GENERAL."

Major Craig."

In 1785 the masterful Brandt held a great council fire at Sandusky villages in June, 1782. He was fortunate enough to escape the clutches of the savages. He was by birth a Russian nobleman, Baron Gustave Henri de Rosenthal. Having killed a fellow-nobleman in a duel near the palace in St. Petersburg, he fled in disguise to America, where the Revolution was in progress, and fought long and gallantly for American Independence, being the only Russian officer on the American side. He was pardoned by Czar Alexander and in April, 1784, returned to Russia, married an early love and was appointed Field Marshal of the Province of Livonia.

Lower Sandusky and here formed the league which six years later defeated the American army under Arthur St. Clair. Within a year after holding this council fire, Brandt visited London and was fêted and encouraged by all the British authorities in his undertaking to drive the Americans south of the Ohio. St. Clair's defeat was followed two years later by that of General Harmar, and the Indians' onslaught continued unchecked till Maj. General Wayne on Aug. 8, 1794, at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, finally vanquished them with frightful slaughter.

The Wyandots were the bravest of the Indians. "With other tribes, flight in battle was no disgrace and was sometimes



ANTHONY WAYNE.
1745-1796.

a part of their strategy. With the Wyandot, however, it was different. In the battle of Fallen Timbers, in which the strength of the confederate tribes was broken by Mad Anthony Wayne, but one survivor remained of thirteen Chiefs of the Wyandot, and he was found badly wounded," Tarhe the Crane. When General Wayne was ready to start on what was his victorious campaign from Greenville, "he sent for Captain Wells, who commanded a company of scouts, and requested him to capture an Indian from Sandusky for the purpose of ob-

taining information. Wells, who spent his early life among the Indians as a captive, was perfectly acquainted with their character and answered that he could capture a prisoner, but not one from Sandusky. 'Why not from Sandusky?' asked the General. 'Because there are only Wyandots at Sandusky,' he answered. 'Why will not a Wyandot do?' 'A Wyandot will never be taken alive.'"

General Wayne in a letter to Tarhe the famous Wyandot warrior of Lower Sandusky, who had been the first to espouse the American cause after the defeat of the Indians at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, wrote:

"To Tarhe and all the other Sachems and War Chiefs at Sandusky:

"Brothers:—You express some apprehension of injury from some of the hostile tribes on account of the part you have lately taken. Your father General Washington, the President of the fifteen Fires of America, will take you under his protection and has ordered me to defend his dutiful children from any injury that may be attempted against them on account of their peaceable disposition towards the United States, and for which purpose he will order a fort or fortification to be built at the foot of the rapids of Sandusky on the reserved lands as soon as the season and circumstances will permit.

"ANTY. WAYNE.

"Major General and Commander in Chief of the Legion of the U. S. Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the said United States for settling a permanent peace with all the Indian Tribes and Nations northwest of the Ohio.

"Greenville, 1st January, 1795.

"RD. ENGLAND.

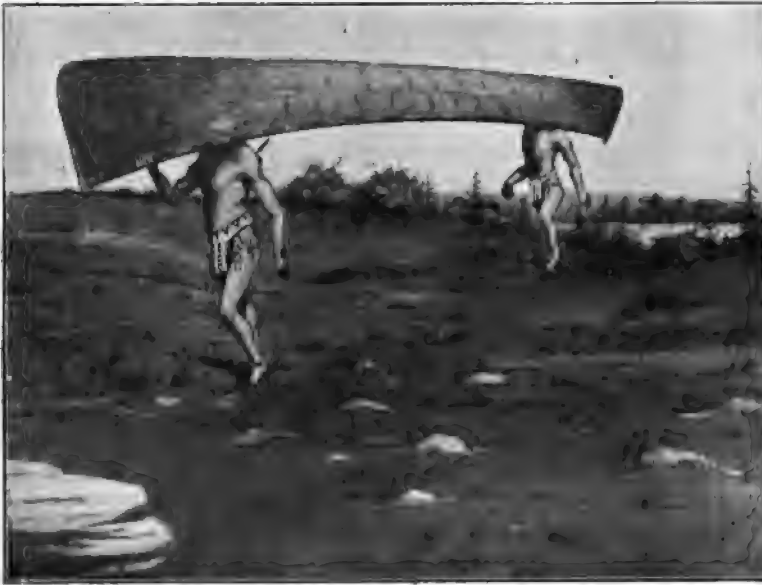
Colonel Commanding.

"Endorsed In Lt. Governor Simcoe's No. 21 to the Duke of Portland."

On the 25th November, 1808, the Indian tribes in a treaty concluded at Brownstown, in the Territory of Michigan, ceded to the United States a tract of land for a road of 120 feet in width, from the foot of the rapids of the river Miami of Lake Erie (now Ft. Meigs on the Maumee), through Lower Sandusky, to the western line of the Connecticut Reserve (Bellevue), and all the land within one mile of the said road on each side thereof; and also a tract of land, for a road only, 120 feet in width, to run southwardly from Lower Sandusky to the boundary line established by the treaty of Greenville.

The former road known as the Western Reserve and Maumee Pike was in course of time constructed and became especially famous from having no ascertainable bottom when used by the Ohio militia in the Michigan war. The road from Lower Sandusky south was not constructed under the authority granted by this treaty; but after the declaration of war with Great Britain, June 18, 1812, Maj.-Gen. Wm. H. Harrison, commanding the northwestern army, directed the laying out of a military road following the old French and Indian trail, known to historians as the Sandusky-Scioto trail from Lake Erie, near old Fort San-

dustry, thence down the west bank of the Sandusky and along the Scioto to the Ohio. This trail from Lake Erie to the Ohio followed the Sandusky-Scioto watercourse, which had but two land portages: one the de Lery portage of two miles from the lake at the mouth of Portage river to Sandusky bay near the mouth of the Sandusky river; and the other the portage of less than four miles from the headwaters of the Sandusky to that of the Scioto. Capt. James Smith, one of the early white prisoners, was taken



PORTAGE OR CARRYING-PLACE.

over this watercourse and portage several times during his captivity, 1755-59.

The old French and Indian trail later became generally known as the Harrison military trail of the war of 1812, and extended from Gen. Harrison's headquarters at Franklinton, now Columbus, the county seat of Franklin county, as well as the capital of the state; from which point it extended through what have since become the county seat towns of Delaware, Delaware county; Marion, Marion county; to Ft. Ferree, 1813, now Upper San-

dusky, the county seat of Wyandot county; to Ft. Ball, 1813, now Tiffin, the county seat of Seneca county; to Ft. Seneca, 1813, on the Sandusky river, where General Harrison made his permanent headquarters during the northwestern campaign. The military road continued thence northwardly to Fort Stephenson, built in 1812, at Lower Sandusky, now Fremont, the county seat of Sandusky county; and thence to the mouth of the Portage river on Lake Erie, now Port Clinton, the county seat of Ottawa county, near which are the ruins of old Fort Sandusky of 1745. From Ft. Seneca a shorter military trail was cut directly through to Fort Meigs, built in 1813.* From Fort Stephenson at Lower Sandusky, there was a trail much used by the military, extending from Fort Meigs to Fort Stephenson and on to the mouth of the Huron river and to Cleveland; and also a trail, one of the earliest in Ohio, from the old French fort, Junundat, built in 1754, up the easterly bank of the Sandusky river, to the Wyandot village of Junquindundeh, later Lower Sandusky and now Fremont.

The suggestion has recently been made to preserve the old French and Indian trail, later known as the Harrison military trail of the War of 1812, from the State Capitol at Columbus, to Lake Erie at Port Clinton and the Camp Perry rifle range of the present day, as an automobile highway. Such a road would not only be of great utility and pleasure to the automobilists of the State, but would also preserve this historic military road made so famous by General Harrison, and over which his soldiers of the regular army, reinforced by the Ohio militia under Governor Meigs and the Kentucky militia under Governor Shelby, marched to victory, driving the British and their Indian allies forever from Ohio soil. A section of the original Indian trail, over a

* On this route an enormous flat boulder was passed which was named the Harrison rock because of the story that General Harrison with the officers of his Staff used it as a mess table on his frequent trips between Fort Seneca and Fort Meigs. Prof. G. F. Wright, president of the Ohio Arch. and Hist. Society, visited the rock recently, and found it to be 34 feet in circumference and approximately 10x13 feet face, weighing some 80 tons. It is of magnesian rock, syenite rather than granite, the syenite of Egypt. It belongs to the Laurentian age, the oldest of the world and came down from north of Lake Huron.

half mile in extent, is preserved through Spiegel Grove. In fact, since the agitation for the preservation of this famous Indian trail, that portion of it which extends through Spiegel Grove has been offered to the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society to be forever preserved. This gift ought to serve as an incentive to the preservation and marking of the entire trail.

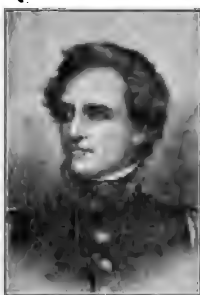
The gallant defence of Ft. Stephenson by Major George



INDIANS AT WATERWAY.

Croghan, 17th U. S. Infantry, with but 160 men against 2,000 British and Indians under Proctor and Tecumseh, on the 1st and 2d of August, 1813, was followed by the immediate retreat of Proctor's force of regulars on the ships of Captain Barclay's fleet down the Sandusky river to Lake Erie, where on the 10th of September Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry captured the entire British fleet in the sanguinary battle of Lake Erie. General Harrison ordered his entire command to Ft. Stephenson at Lower Sandusky and then marched down the left bank of the river to old Ft. Sandusky and across the de Lery portage to Lake Erie.

The American commander followed the example of the French expeditions of earlier times and caused the vessels on which his supplies had been brought down the Sandusky river from Ft. Stephenson to be hauled across the famous de Lery portage from old Ft. Sandusky to the mouth of the Portage river at Lake Erie. He further caused the construction of a fence across this peninsula by regiments of militia formed in column so as to stretch across from the Sandusky to the Portage rivers. Within the Marblehead peninsula thus enclosed, he turned loose the several thousand horses of his command to be guarded by a small force, while with the remainder of his command he embarked on



MAJOR CROGHAN.

the victorious vessels of Commodore Perry's fleet and started across Lake Erie, making temporary stops on Put-in-Bay and West Sister islands and then landing on the Canadian shore opposite Detroit. From this point he marched against Proctor and Tecumseh and utterly vanquished them in the Battle of the Thames on the 5th of October, 1813, Tecumseh himself being among the slain. On returning from his Canadian campaign most of his troops were transported across Lake Erie by Perry's ships, landing at what is now Port Clinton, gathering up their horses and supplies, and taking up their march over the de Lery portage and the old French and Indian trail back through Ft. Stephenson to Ft. Seneca. Here many of the militia were honorably discharged, and the victorious soldiers of Ohio and Kentucky resumed their march over the old trail to the new State Capital at Columbus.

It is an interesting fact that in the military expeditions of the Indians, French, British and Americans, in the "Sandusky country," the British alone used the present day entrance to the Sandusky river, through Sandusky bay from Lake Erie. Bradstreet's expedition in 1764, in large, unwieldy batteaux carrying twenty-seven men each, entered Sandusky bay and sailed up Sandusky river as far as the lower falls of the Sandusky (now Fremont), in his effort to make a juncture with the Bouquet expedition which started from Ft. Pitt. He was unable to get his

cumbrous batteaux over the low falls and thus it happened that he made his westernmost camp at this very point as previously narrated. Again the British under Proctor in July, 1813, on the ships of Captain Barclay's fleet, after making a feint against Ft. Meigs at the lower rapids of the Maumee, sailed back to Lake Erie, around to Sandusky bay and up the Sandusky river. Fortunately for Major Croghan, Proctor mistook the wider mouth of Muddy Creek for the true channel of the Sandusky, and thereby lost a day. However, on the evening of July 31, Proctor appeared around the bend below Brady's island, of Revolutionary war fame, near which he anchored and disembarked his troops and artillery, preparatory to a bombardment of Ft. Stephenson as a preliminary to an assault. Cannon and howitzers were hauled up from the river and fire opened on the devoted garrison from the point now known as the British Redoubt. From this point the fort was bombarded until the evening of the 2d of August when the final assault was made. After the disastrous repulse which followed, Proctor gathered up



TECUMSEH.

his wounded, burying most of his dead on the banks of the Sandusky, near the present W. & L. E. R. R. cut, and sailed down the river to Lake Erie. He stopped, however, long enough to pillage the Whitaker home and destroy the storehouse out of revenge for the information alleged to have been given the Americans by Mrs. Elizabeth Foulks Whitaker, wife of the first permanent white settler in Ohio, as detailed later.

The French, and later the Americans, imitating the Indians, employed frailer craft than did the British, and in their expeditions to and from Detroit skirted the islands or hugged the

western shore of Lake Erie around to the mouth of the Portage river; whence as heretofore shown, the Indians, the numerous French expeditions under de Lery and others, and the Americans as late as 1813, under General Harrison, used the land portage and hauled their boats across to the mouth of the Sandusky. They did this rather than risk their frail crafts in the stormy passage of forty-five miles around the Marblehead peninsula and up the Sandusky bay.

The best description extant of Major Croghan's defense of Fort Stephenson and of General Harrison's expedition into Canada is that contained in "A History of the Late War in the Western Country," by Robert B. McAfee, Lexington, Ky., a rare and valuable volume.

"General Harrison had returned from Cleveland to Lower Sandusky (July, 1813) several days before the arrival of the enemy, and received at that place from the express the information that Camp Meigs was again invested. He then immediately removed his headquarters to Seneca town, about nine miles up the Sandusky river, where he constructed a fortified camp, having left Major Croghan with 160 regulars in Fort Stephenson and taken with him to Seneca about 140 more; under the immediate command of Colonel Wells. A few days afterward he was reinforced by the arrival of 300 regulars under Colonel Paul, and Colonel Ball's corps of 150 dragoons, which made his whole force at that place upwards of 600 strong. He was soon joined also by Generals McArthur and Cass; and Colonel Owings with a regiment of 500 regulars from Kentucky, was also advancing to the frontiers; but he did not arrive at headquarters before the siege of Fort Meigs had been abandoned by the enemy. * * *

"The force which Proctor and Tecumseh brought against us in this instance has been ascertained to have been about 5,000 strong. A greater number of Indians were collected by them for this expedition than ever were assembled in one body on any other occasion during the whole war.

"Having raised the siege of Camp Meigs, the British sailed round into Sandusky bay, whilst a competent number of their savage allies marched across through the swamps of Portage River, to co-operate in a combined attack at Lower Sandusky, expecting no doubt that General Harrison's attention would be chiefly directed to forts Winchester and Meigs. The General however had calculated on their taking this course, and had been careful to keep patrols down the bay, opposite the mouth of Portage River, where he supposed their forces would debark.

"Several days before the British had invested Fort Meigs General Harrison, with Major Croghan and some other officers, had examined the



RUFUS PUTNAM'S MAP, 1804.

(Map of the State of Ohio, by Rufus Putnam, Surveyor General of the U. S.
Courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.)

heights which surround Fort Stephenson; and as the hill on the opposite or southeast side of the river, was found to be the most commanding eminence, the General had some thoughts of removing the fort to that place, and Major Croghan declared his readiness to undertake the work. But the General did not authorize him to do it, as he believed that if the enemy intended to invade our territory again, they would do it before the removal could be completed. It was then finally concluded, that the fort which was calculated for a garrison of only two hundred men, could not be defended against the heavy artillery of the enemy; and that if the British should approach it by water, which would cause a presumption that they had brought their heavy artillery, the fort must be abandoned and burned, provided a retreat could be effected with safety. In the orders left with Major Croghan it was stated,—‘Should the British troops approach you in force with cannon, and you can discover them in time to effect a retreat, you will do so immediately, destroying all the public stores. * * * You must be aware that the attempt to retreat in the face of an Indian force would be vain. Against such an enemy your garrison would be safe, however great the number.’”

On the evening of the 29th, Gen. Harrison received intelligence by express from Gen. Clay, that the enemy had abandoned the siege of Fort Meigs, and as the Indians on that day had swarmed in the woods round his camp, he entertained no doubt but an immediate attack was intended either on Sandusky or Seneca. He therefore immediately called a council of war, consisting of McArthur, Cass, Ball, Paul, Wood, Hukill, Holmes and Graham, who were unanimously of the opinion that Fort Stephenson was untenable against heavy artillery, and that as the enemy could bring with facility any quantity of battering cannon against it, by which it must inevitably fall, and as it was an unimportant post, containing nothing the loss of which would be felt by us, that the garrison should therefore not be reinforced but withdrawn and the place destroyed. In pursuance of this decision the General immediately despatched the following order to Major Croghan:

MAJOR GEORGE CROGHAN.

“Sir, immediately on receiving this letter, you will abandon Fort Stephenson, set fire to it and repair with your command this night to headquarters. Cross the river and come up on the opposite side. If you should deem and find it impracticable to make good your march to this place, take the road to Huron and pursue it with the utmost circumspection and despatch.”

This order was sent by Mr. Conner and two Indians, who lost their way in the dark and did not arrive at Fort Stephenson before 11 o'clock the next day. When Major Croghan received it, he could not then retreat with safety, as the Indians were hovering round the fort in considerable force. He called a council of his officers, a majority of whom coincided with him in opinion that a retreat would be unsafe, and that the post could be maintained against the enemy at least until further instructions could be received from headquarters. The major therefore immediately returned the following answer:

"Sir, I have received yours of yesterday, 10 o'clock P. M., ordering me to destroy this place and make good my retreat, which was received too late to be carried into execution. We have determined to maintain this place and by heavens we can."

In writing this note Major Croghan had a view to the probability of its falling into the hands of the enemy, and on that account made use of a stronger language than would otherwise have been consistent with propriety. It reached the General on the same day, who did not fully understand the circumstances and motives under which it had been dictated. The following order was therefore immediately prepared, and sent with Colonel Wells in the morning, escorted by Colonel Ball with his corps of dragoons:

"JULY 30, 1813.

"SIR. — The General has received your letter of this date, informing him that you had thought proper to disobey the order issued from this office, and delivered to you this morning. It appears that the information which dictated the order was incorrect; and as you did not receive it in the night as was expected, it might have been proper that you should have reported the circumstance and your situation, before you proceeded to its execution. This might have been passed over, but I am directed to say to you, that an officer who presumes to aver that he has made his resolution and that he will act in direct opposition to the orders of his General can no longer be entrusted with a separate command. Colonel Wells is sent to relieve you. You will deliver the command to him and repair with Col. Ball's squadron to this place. By command etc.; A. H. Holmes, Asst. Adj. General."

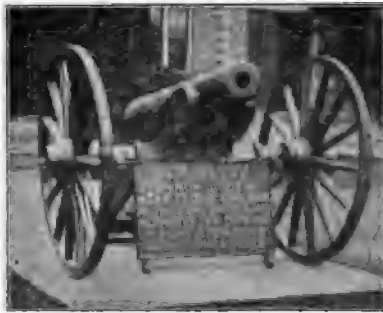
The squadron of dragoons on this trip met with a party of Indians near Lower Sandusky and killed 11 out of 12. The In-

12 o'clock the next day, and had passed it but a few hours when the enemy made their appearance before it. The Indians showed themselves first on the hill over the river, and were saluted by a 6-pounder, the only piece of artillery in the fort, which soon caused them to retire. In half an hour the British gunboats came into sight; and the Indian forces displayed themselves in every direction, with a view to intercept the garrison should a retreat be attempted. The 6-pounder was fired a few times at the gunboats, which was returned by the artillery of the enemy. A landing of their troops with a $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzer was effected about a mile below the fort; and Major Chambers accompanied by Dickson was despatched towards the fort with a flag, and was met on the part of Major Croghan by Ensign Shipp of the 17th Regiment. After the usual ceremonies Major Chambers observed to Ensign Shipp, that he was instructed by Gen. Proctor to demand the surrender of the fort, as he was anxious to spare the effusion of human blood, which he could not do, should he be under the necessity of reducing it by the powerful force of artillery, regulars and Indians under his command. Shipp replied that the commandant of the fort and its garrison were determined to defend it to the last extremity, that no force however great could induce them to surrender, as they were resolved to maintain their post or to bury themselves in its ruins. Dickson then said that their immense body of Indians could not be restrained from massacring the whole garrison in case of success — of which we have no doubt, rejoined Chambers, as we are amply prepared. Dickson then proceeded to remark that it was a pity so fine a young man should fall into the hands of the savages — sir, for God's sake surrender, and prevent the dreadful massacre that will be caused by your resistance. Mr. Shipp replied that when the fort was taken there would be none to massacre. It will not be given up while a man is able to resist. An Indian at this moment came out of an adjoining ravine and advancing to the Ensign took hold of his sword and attempted to wrest it from him. Dickson interfered, and having restrained the Indian, affected great anxiety to get him safe into the fort.

The enemy now opened their fire from their 6-pounders in the gunboats and the howitzer on shore, which they continued.

through the night with but little intermission and with very little effect. The forces of the enemy consisted of about 500 regulars, and about 800 Indians commanded by Dickson, the whole being commanded by Gen. Proctor in person. Tecumseh was stationed on the road to Fort Meigs with a body of 2,000 Indians, expecting to intercept a reinforcement on that route.

Major Croghan through the evening occasionally fired his 6-pounder, at the same time changing its place occasionally to induce a belief that he had more than one piece. As it produced very little execution on the enemy, and he was desirous of saving his ammunition, he soon discontinued his fire. The enemy had directed



"OLD BETSY."

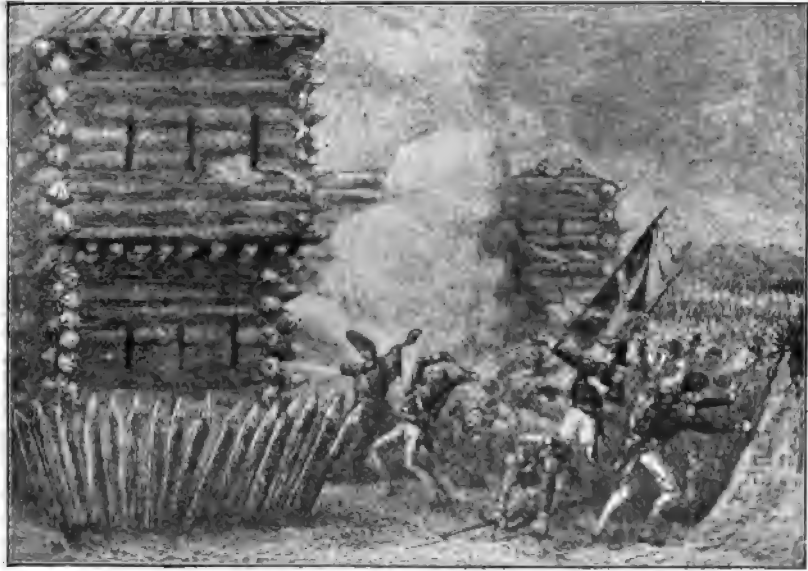
their fire against the north-western angle of the fort which induced the commandant to believe that an attempt to storm his works would be made at that point. In the night Captain Hunter was directed to remove the 6-pounder to a blockhouse from which it would rake that angle. By great industry and personal exertion, Captain Hunter soon

accomplished this object in secrecy. The embrasure was masked, and the piece loaded with a half charge of powder and double charge of slugs and grape shot.

Early in the morning of the second, the enemy opened their fire from their howitzer, and three 6-pounders which they had landed in the night, and planted in a point of woods about 250 yards from the fort. In the evening, about 4 o'clock, they concentrated the fire of all their guns on the northwest angle which convinced Major Croghan that they would endeavor to make a breach and storm the works at that point; he therefore immediately had that place strengthened as much as possible with bags of flour and sand, which were so effectual that the picketing in that place sustained no material injury. Sergeant Weaver with five or six gentlemen of the Petersburg Volunteers and Pittsburgh Blues,

who happened to be in the fort, was entrusted with the management of the 6-pounder.

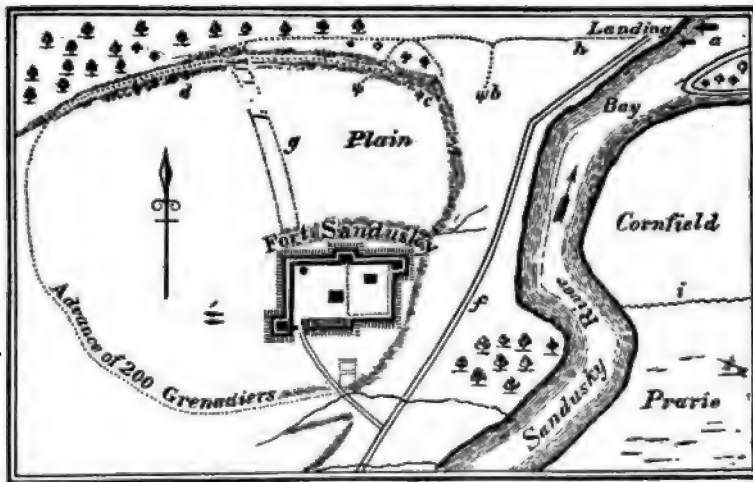
Late in the evening when the smoke of the firing had completely enveloped the fort, the enemy proceeded to make the assault. Two feints were made toward the southern angle, where Captain Hunter's lines were formed; and at the same time a column of 350 men was discovered advancing through the smoke, within 20 paces of the northwestern angle. A heavy galling fire



ATTACK ON FORT STEPHENSON.

of musketry was now opened upon them from the fort which threw them into confusion. Colonel Shortt, who headed the principal column soon rallied his men and led them with great bravery to the brink of the ditch. After a momentary pause he leaped into the ditch, calling to his men to follow him, and in a few minutes it was full. The masked porthole was now opened, and the 6-pounder, at a distance of 30 feet, poured such destruction upon them that but few who had entered the ditch were fortunate

enough to escape. A precipitate and confused retreat was the immediate consequence, although some of the officers attempted to rally their men. The other column which was led by Colonel Warburton and Major Chambers, was also routed in confusion by a destructive fire from the line commanded by Captain Hunter. The whole of them fled into the adjoining wood, beyond the reach of our small arms. During the assault, which lasted half an hour, the enemy kept up an incessant fire from their howitzer and five 6-pounders. They left Colonel Shortt, a lieutenant and 25 privates dead in the ditch; and the total number of prisoners

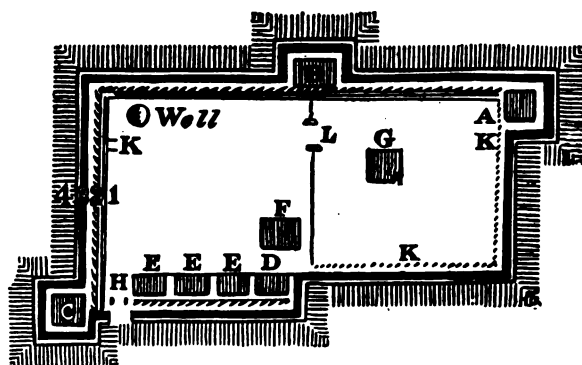


PORT SANDUSKY AND ENVIRONS.

taken was 26, most of them badly wounded. Major Muir was knocked down in the ditch, and lay among the dead, till the darkness of the night enabled him to escape in safety. The loss of the garrison was one killed and 7 slightly wounded. The total loss of the enemy could not be less than 150 killed and wounded.

When night came on, which was soon after the assault, the wounded in the ditch were in a desperate situation. Complete relief could not be brought to them by either side with any degree of safety. Major Croghan however relieved them as much as possible — he contrived to convey them water over the picketing

in buckets, and a ditch was opened under the pickets through which those who were able and willing were encouraged to crawl into the fort. All who were able preferred of course to follow their defeated comrades, and many others were carried from the vicinity of the fort by the Indians, particularly their own killed and wounded; and in the night about 3 o'clock the whole British and Indian force commenced a disorderly retreat. So great was their precipitation, that they left a sail boat containing some clothing and a considerable quantity of military stores; and on the next day 70 stand of arms and some braces of pistols were picked up around the fort. Their hurry and confusion was caused by the apprehension of an attack from Gen. Harrison, of whose position and force they had probably received an exaggerated account.



FORT SANDUSKY.

General Harrison to Governor Meigs.

HEADQUARTERS, SENECA TOWN, 2d August, 1813.

"DEAR SIR:

The enemy have been, since last evening, before Lower Sandusky, and are battering it with all their might. Come on, my friend, as quickly as possible, that we may relieve the brave fellows who are defending it. I had ordered it to be abandoned. The order was not obeyed. I know it will be defended to the last extremity; for earth does not hold a set of finer fellows than Croghan and his officers. I shall expect you to-morrow certainly.

Yours, etc.,

WM. H. HARRISON

[Governor Shelby.]

HEADQUARTERS, SENECA, 12 Sept., 1813.

"You will find arms at Upper Sandusky; also a considerable quantity at Lower Sandusky. I set out from this place in an hour. Our fleet has beyond all doubt met that of the enemy. The day before yesterday an incessant and tremendous cannonading was heard in the direction of Malden by a detachment of troops coming from Fort Meigs. It lasted two hours. I am all anxiety for the result. There will be no occasion for your halting here. Lower Sandusky affords fine grazing. With respect to a station for your horses, there is the best in the world immediately at the place of embarkation. The Sandusky Bay, Lake Erie, and Portage river form between them a peninsula, the isthmus of which is only a mile and a half across. A fence of that length, and a sufficient guard left there, would make all the horses of the army safe. It would enclose fifty or sixty thousand acres, in which are many cultivated fields, which have been abandoned and are now grown up with the finest grass. Your sick had better be left at Upper Sandusky or here.

HARRISON."

Within half an hour after the above letter was written, the general received the following laconic note from the commodore, by express from Lower Sandusky:

"U. S. BRIG NIAGARA, OFF THE WESTERN SISTER, ETC.,

September 10, 1813.

"DEAR GENERAL—We have met the enemy and they are ours—two ships, two brigs, one schooner and a sloop.

"Yours with great respect and esteem,

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY."

The exhilarating news set Lower Sandusky and camp Seneca in an uproar of tumultuous joy. The general immediately proceeded to the former place, and issued his orders, for the movement of the troops, and transportation of the provisions, military stores, etc., to the margin of the lake, preparatory to their embarkation.

In bringing down the military stores and provisions from the posts on the Sandusky river, to the vessels in the lake, a short land carriage became necessary to expedite the embarkation. The peninsula formed by the Sandusky Bay on the right and by the Portage river and Lake Erie on the left, extending between fifteen and twenty miles from the anchorage of the shipping in the mouth of the Portage; at which place the isthmus on which

the army was encamped was less than two miles across from one river to the other. The boats in going round the peninsula to the shipping, would have to travel upward of forty miles, and to be exposed to the dangers of the lake navigation. It was therefore deemed the most safe and expeditious to transport the stores and drag the boats across the isthmus, which was accomplished between the 15th and 20th of the month, whilst the army was detained in making other necessary arrangements.

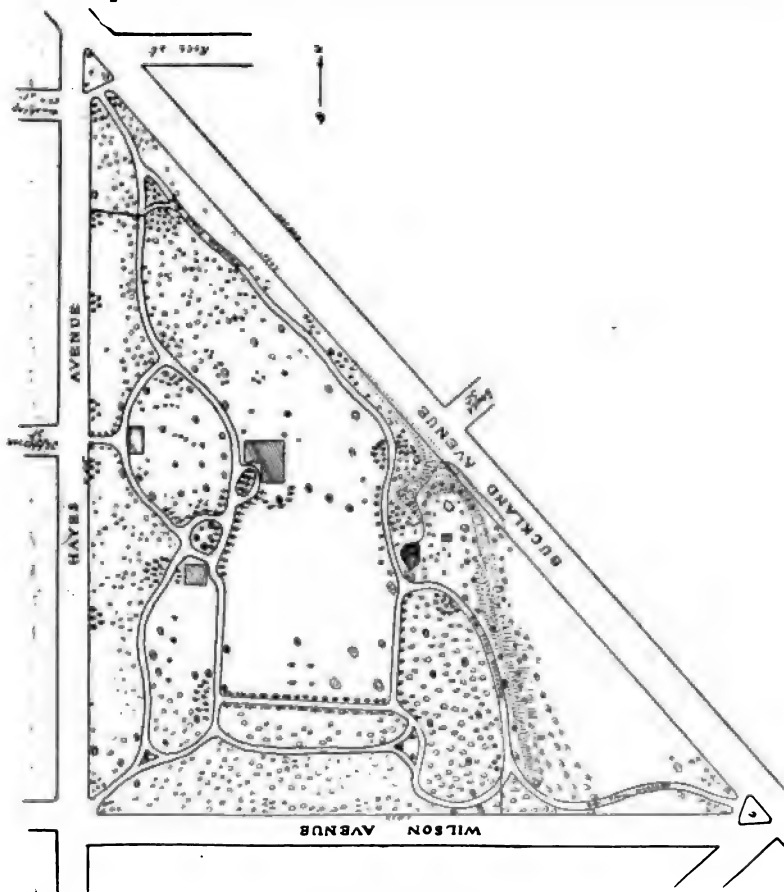
The Kentucky troops were encamped across the narrowest part of the isthmus, above the place of embarkation; and each regiment was ordered to construct a strong fence of brush and fallen timber in front of its encampment, which extended when finished, from Portage River to Sandusky River. Within this enclosure their horses were turned loose to graze on ample pastures of excellent grass. The preparations for the expedition being nearly completed, it became necessary to detail a guard to be left for the protection of the horses. The commandants of regiments were ordered by the governor to detach one-twentieth part of their commands for this service; and Colonel Christopher Rife was designated as their commander. In furnishing the men, many of the colonels had to resort to a draft, as volunteers to stay on this side the lake could not be obtained.

On the 20th, Gen. Harrison embarked with the regular troops under Generals McArthur and Cass, and arrived the same day at Put-in-Bay in Bass Island, and about 10 miles distant from the point of embarkation. Next morning the governor (Shelby) sailed with a part of his troops, having ordered Major General Desha to remain at Portage and bring up the rear, which he performed with great alacrity and vigilance. On that and the succeeding day all the militia arrived at Bass Island. Colonel Rife was left in command at Portage, with Doctor Maguffin as his surgeon. The whole army remained on Bass Island on the 24th, waiting for the arrival of all necessary stores and provisions at that place.

On the 25th, the whole army moved to the Middle Sister, a small island containing about five or six acres of ground, which was now crowded with men, having about 4,500 upon it. Whilst the transport vessels were bringing up the military stores and

provisions on the 26th, Gen. Harrison sailed with Commodore Perry in the Ariel to reconnoitre off Malden, and ascertain a suitable point on the lake shore for the debarkation of his troops.

On Monday the 27th, the whole army was embarked early in the day, and set sail from the Middle Sister for the Canada shore, Gen. Harrison having previously circulated a general order among the troops in which he exhorted them to remember the fame of



SPIEGEL GROVE,

Showing Old French and Indian Trail, Sandusky-Scioto Route; Later Known as Harrison Trail, War of 1812.

(Trail Runs Nearly Parallel to Buckland Avenue for Over Half a Mile.)

their ancestors and the justice of the cause in which they were engaged.

Soon after the British force had surrendered and it was discovered that the Indians were yielding on the left, Gen Harrison ordered Major Payne to pursue Gen. Proctor with a part of his battalion. * * * But Proctor was not to be taken. His guilty conscience had told him that his only chance for safety from the vengeance of those whose countrymen he had murdered



SPIEGEL GROVE. RESIDENCE OF THE LATE PRESIDENT R. B. HAYES.

lay in the celerity of his flight. The pursuers, however, at last pressed him so closely that he was obliged to abandon the road, and his carriage and sword were captured by the gallant Major Wood. Six pieces of brass artillery were taken, three of which had been captured in the Revolution at Saratoga and York, and surrendered again by Hull in Detroit.

Lieut-Colonel Eleazer Wood was one of the first graduates of the military academy at West Point, 1806, and was a dis-

tinguished engineer. In 1812 he built the fort at Lower Sandusky, which was later named after Col. Stephenson, and was so gallantly defended by Major George Croghan on the 2d of August, 1813. He was also the engineer who planned Fort Meigs in 1813, and participated most gallantly in its siege and also in the Battle of the Thames. He was killed September 17, 1814.

Proctor's carriage, captured by Major Wood, was brought to Lower Sandusky, and for many years was shown upon all public occasions as one of the trophies of the war, second in interest only to "Old Betsy."

One of the "six pieces of brass artillery" referred to above, is now one of the most cherished relics in the museum on Fort Stephenson. It is a handsome brass piece, evidently a French gun originally, as it has near its muzzle the royal cipher of King Louis of France. It was presented to King George of England, or was captured by him, and has the monogram G. R., with the crown, near its base. It was captured from the British under Burgoyne at Saratoga, and in common with other trophies was elaborately inscribed, as captured by Benedict Arnold:

TAKEN AT THE STORM OF
THE BRITISH LINE NEAR SARATOGA.
BY

.....

October 7, 1777.

After Benedict Arnold turned traitor at West Point, his name was carefully erased from all trophies. This gun was one of the number so ignominiously surrendered at Detroit by Gen. Hull, August 16, 1812, to the British Major General Brock. After being captured for the second time from the British under Proctor, by the Americans under Gen. Harrison at the Battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813, it was retired from active service and has now for more than twenty-five years been an object of the greatest interest in the museum on the site of old Fort Stephenson.

The first permanent white settlers in Ohio were James Whitaker and Elizabeth Foulks, who were captured in western Pennsylvania in 1774 and 1776 respectively, by the Wyandot Indians, by whom they were adopted and taken to Lower Sandusky, now Fremont, Ohio, where they were brought together as adopted members of the Wyandot tribe. They were married in Detroit, in 1781, and returned to a tract of land which had been given to them by the Wyandots on the Sandusky River, three miles below the lower rapids known as Lower Sandusky. Here they lived and raised a family of eight children. One of their grandchildren and several great grandchildren are residents of Fremont and vicinity.

James Whitaker, who became an Indian trader, died in 1804, at Upper Sandusky, where he had a store; but his remains were brought to his home established in 1781, where he was buried on a tract originally given him as a wedding gift by the Indians, which tract, containing 1280 acres, was set aside to his widow by the treaty made at Fort Industry, September 29, 1817. His tombstone was brought from the old Whitaker farm and placed in Birchard Library, just one hundred years after its erection over his grave. It bears the following inscription:

IN MEMORY OF JAMES WHITACRE WHO DIED DEC. 17, 1804 In the 48th year of his age.*
--

The Whitaker Reserve is of especial interest to the Daughters of the American Revolution owing to the fact that Major Nathan Goodale, one of the most gallant officers of the Revolutionary army, who emigrated to Marietta with the Ohio Company was buried there. Major Goodale was a native of Brookfield,

* For a full account of James Whitaker and his family, see Ohio. Arch. & Hist. So. Quarterly, January, 1907.

Mass., but joined the Ohio Company in 1788. He removed to Belpre, near Marietta, in 1789, where he was captured March 1, 1793, while working on his farm within fifty rods of the garrison, by eight Wyandot Indians, who hurried him off toward Detroit, in order to secure a large ransom. While en route, near Lower Sandusky, he fell ill and could not travel. The Whitakers learning of his condition took him to their home, where Mrs. Whitaker carefully nursed him until he finally died and was probably buried in what afterward became the Whitaker family graveyard. Mrs. Whitaker said that "the Indians left him at her house where he died of a disease like pleurisy without having received any very ill usage from his captors other than the means necessary to prevent his escape."

On "Croghan Day," 1885, the Sandusky County Soldiers' Monument in Fort Stephenson Park, Fremont, Ohio, was unveiled, with Gen. Rutherford B. Hayes, late President of the United States, as presiding officer. Before presenting the speakers of the day, he read numerous letters of regret, among which was one from Gen. W. T. Sherman, which contained the following interesting statement as to the importance of the victory gained by Croghan:

"The defense of Fort Stephenson, by Croghan and his gallant little band, was the necessary precursor to Perry's victory on the Lake, and of General Harrison's triumphant victory at the battle of the Thames. These assured to our immediate ancestors the mastery of the Great West, and from that day to this the west has been the bulwark of this nation.

"The occasion is worthy a monument to the skies, and nothing could be more congenial to me personally than to assist, but, as I hope I have demonstrated, it is impossible."

On "Croghan Day," 1906, the remains of Colonel Croghan were reinterred at the base of the Soldiers' Monument. The grave was covered with a large block of Quincy granite bearing this inscription:

George Croghan
Major 17th U. S. Infantry,
Defender of Fort Stephenson.
August 1st and 2d, 1813.

Born Locust Grove, Ky., Nov. 15, 1791.
Died New Orleans, La., Jan. 8, 1849,
Colonel Inspector General
United States Army.
Remains removed from
Croghan Family Burying Ground,
Locust Grove, Ky.,
August 2, 1906.

Two cannon and a commemorative tablet mark the spot from which the British cannon bombarded Fort Stephenson.
The tablet reads as follows:

Near this spot
British cannon from Commodore Barclay's fleet bombarded
Major Croghan in Fort Stephenson August 1, and 2, 1813.
General Proctor attempted to capture the fort by assault with
his Wellington veterans, assisted by Indians under Tecumseh.
Major Croghan with only 160 men and one cannon
"Old Betsy," repulsed the assault.
The British retreated to their ships with many killed and wounded,
but leaving Lt. Col. Shortt, Lieut. Gordon
and 25 soldiers of the 41st regiment dead in the ditch.
Commodore Barclay was wounded and with his entire fleet including
the cannon used against Fort Stephenson was captured by
Commodore Perry at the battle of Lake Erie, Sept. 10, 1813.
General Proctor, with his British regulars, was defeated and
Tecumseh with many of his Indians, was killed by
General Harrison at the battle of the Thames, Oct. 5, 1813.
Major Croghan was awarded a gold medal and each
of his officers a sword by the Congress of the United States
for gallantry in the defense of Fort Stephenson.
Erected by the George Croghan Chapter, D. A. R.

A pretty little scene links that battle of nearly a century ago with our own present. A group of distinguished visitors one day entered the Blue Room of the White House, at Washington, unannounced, during the administration of President Hayes, and were surprised to find the beautiful mistress of the house sitting on the floor, needle and thread in hand, while before her half reclining on the central divan, sat an old soldier in the uniform of an ordnance sergeant of the United States Army.

The callers, who were Sir Edward Thornton, the British

Minister, with some English friends, were about to retire, when the lady looked up from her work, saw them, and laughingly called them to stay. She rose from the floor, shook hands warmly with the old soldier, and assuring him that his uniform was now perfect, handed him over to the care of her son.

The lady was our own Mrs. Lucy Webb Hayes, and the old soldier was Ordnance Sergeant William Gaines, U. S. Army, retired, the last survivor of the gallant defenders of Fort Stephenson, who, after an active service of over 51 years, had become an inmate of the Soldiers' Home in Washington as a reward for his long service in the regular army. A full dress uniform for an ordnance sergeant was purchased and ordered sent to the White House, so that a photograph in uniform could be taken of the old soldier. To his great distress he discovered that the sergeant's stripes, indicative of his rank, had not been attached to the seam of his trousers, but had been sent loose to be used at the wearer's discretion.

Mrs. Hayes, who had come down to greet him in the Blue Room, learning the cause of his distress, at once sent for needle and thread, saying she would herself stitch them on. She was just finishing the task, sitting on the floor with the old soldier standing before her, when the British Minister and his guests entered, and caught the charming picture to carry away to their English home.

The great love which Mrs. Hayes bore for the American soldier was one of the characteristics of her life. The beautiful young wife and mother of but thirty years, was "the mother of the regiment" to her husband's old regiment, the 23d Ohio Infantry, from the breaking out of the war until the day of her death, nearly 30 years later, when the survivors acted as a guard of honor at her funeral in Spiegel Grove. Her sympathetic care for the wounded was commemorated in the oil painting placed in the Soldiers' Orphans' Home at Xenia, and typified her devoted service in the hospitals after the bloody Antietam campaign in which her own husband was so severely wounded.

I feel sure that a principal pleasure of your conference sojourn in Fremont is the picture you will carry away of the beautiful home at Spiegel Grove, the home of our loved and honored

citizens, Rutherford Birchard Hayes and Lucy Webb Hayes. The hospitality of the Hayes home is proverbial, and many distinguished persons have shared it before you. Many of these are recalled to the visitor by the giant oaks, the graceful elm, the beautiful maple and the sturdy hickory, which bear the names of the more prominent of General Hayes' comrades in arms, or in the executive office in Washington, who have been visitors at this beautiful home. Almost every object in it is historic or storied. Its library of Americana is one of the finest extant. The grove in which it stands is a primeval forest, full of legends of the Indians and their captives, and frontiersmen and soldiers of the early wars. The noble old mansion and its grounds will, we hope, long remain as a typical American home of the latter half of the 19th century, and as a lasting memorial to our most honored citizens.

The patriotic city of Fremont, at the request of the local Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, has placed an historical tablet at the station of each of the steam railroads passing through that historic city. While few if any cities in Ohio can present so historically interesting a Tablet, yet the custom is well worth following. The Tablet reads:

FREMONT,

County Seat of Sandusky County, Ohio

The JUNQUINDUNDEH of the Indians, and
the LOWER SANDUSKY of the Revolutionary War and the
War of 1812.

An old NEUTRAL TOWN of the ERIES used as a refuge on the destruction of the HURON Confederacy by the IROQUOIS in 1650.

Westermmost point reached by the BRITISH and COLONIAL TROOPS from New York, New Jersey and Connecticut under ISRAEL PUTNAM in BRADSTREET'S Expedition against Pontiac in 1764.

A BRITISH POST established here during the REVOLUTIONARY WAR

DANIEL BOONE, SIMON KENTON, the Moravians HECKEWELDER and ZEISBERGER, and over 1000 whites held here as PRISONERS by the Indians.

FORT STEPHENSON built in 1812, and gallantly defended by Major GEORGE CROGHAN, 17th U. S. Infantry, with 160 men, against 2000 British and Indians under PROCTOR and TECUMSEH, Aug. 1st and 2d, 1813.

SPIEGEL GROVE, the home of RUTHERFORD B. HAYES,
19th President of the United States.



WASHINGTON'S "TOUR TO THE OHIO" AND ARTICLES OF "THE MISSISSIPPI COMPANY."*

Introduction and Notes by Archer Butler Hulbert, Author of "Washington
and the West," "Historic Highways," Etc.

It is always interesting to recall that the earliest accurate account of the Ohio Valley is from the pen of Washington. This account is found in two manuscripts, now preserved in the Library of Congress, one of which is entitled "Remarks & Occurr^s in October"; when November came it is noted only by the words "November 1st"; the other manuscript is inscribed "Where & how—my time is—Spent." The former document is the elaborated journal of Washington's tour of 1770 and the latter is a mere outline, such as he always kept, of each day's affairs. The more formal journal was damaged and the entries for about a week have never been published, nor has the journal been edited in any part. The smaller diary of the two has never been published. The two together are here reproduced, together with the articles of the "Mississippi Company," never printed before, which are in Washington's handwriting and are also preserved in the Library of Congress.

The "Remarks" have been printed in part in the *Writings of Washington* by Sparks and Ford; also in the *Old South Leaflets*, as well as independently, under the title of "A Tour to the Ohio." It will be found possible, with the help of the daily account in the lesser record, to fill up quite completely the days which were partially destroyed. As these days included much of the return trip up the Ohio even a fragmentary account of them has its value to many.

As a preface to the reading of this little collection of Washingtonia, relating so intimately to Ohio, it is proper to review

* In the identification of points mentioned in Washington's journal the editor has been largely assisted by Edgar Chew Sweeney.

Washington's relations to the West and the causes which led to the tour under consideration.

From any standpoint, it must be considered a strange Providence that led Martha Washington to turn her young son's eyes from the sea, where the romance of his brother's career under Admiral Vernon had attracted them, to those darkling forests that stretched illimitably away to the westward of their Virginia home. By no other act could that mother have so fitted her boy to be, in a real sense never appreciated by those who use the expression so often and so flippantly, the "Father of his country"; for there was never a time when Washington was more truly the Father of the young lad of a Republic as in those strange, black twenty-one years between the opening of the old French War at Fort Necessity in 1754, and that day in 1775 when the boy came to man's estate and America stepped forth to take a place among the nations of the world.

For if you could measure in grains and ounces the sum total of Washington's heart-interests, or reckon in actual minutes the time he gave to the consideration of the plans and hopes and dreams that held his heart — omitting the seven years he gave so faithfully to the single thought of emancipation — I believe that next to his family and friends would appear his extraordinary interest in what we may term the Western problem, to which his mother first turned his attention in 1747.

The story of the young surveyor's experiences we have from his own pen; yet there is much to read between the lines of that boyish diary; he learned the Indians, who were to play so important a part in the old French War; he saw the fertility of the glades and river-lands, which were slight but genuine prophecies of the richness of the lands farther west; he saw the rivers themselves which were to become the first commercial highways to bind together distant commonwealths with bands strong as tempered steel in a day when men looked upon the Alleghenies as prohibitive barriers to empire. Then, in rapid order, came the appointment of Washington as one of Virginia's adjutants-general over the portion of his colony he now was beginning to know. The mission to the French forts on the Allegheny River in 1753-4 brought him first into the Mississippi

drainage area — and how little the lad dreamed that this was but one of six visits into that region! The next year he led his little force to Fort Necessity and precipitated the first skirmish in the war by which England should obtain the mastery of the continent. In the next year he came again with the insolent, bulldog Braddock to the ford of the Monongahela and the death-trap beyond. In 1758 he came again with the heroic, dying Forbes to a conquest of Fort Duquesne.

As a result of these military expeditions westward, but one tangible tie can be discovered to bind in any way the future fate of the West with this name of Washington. So slothful was Virginia to furnish men for the Virginia Regiment which Washington was to lead to Fort Necessity in 1754, that Governor Dinwiddie was compelled to offer bounties in western land to all who would enlist for the campaign. Such is the vital connection between the tour of 1770 and this bounty-land offer made in 1754, that it is necessary to quote it in full, as nothing save the reading of the Governor's actual promise can give one a proper conception of the feelings of those, Washington among them, who had the temerity to take him at his word. The proclamation read:

"Virginia ss.

By the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, Esq.; His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander-in-Chief of this Dominion

A PROCLAMATION.

For Encouraging *Men* to enlist in His Majesty's Service for the Defense and Security of this Colony.

WHEREAS it is determined that a Fort be immediately built on the River *Ohio*, at the Fork of *Monongahela*, to oppose any further Encroachments, or hostile Attempts of the *French*, and the *Indians* in their interest, and for the Security and Protection of his Majesty's Subjects in this Colony; and as it is absolutely necessary that a sufficient Force should be raised to erect and support the same: For an Encouragement to all who shall voluntarily enter into the said Service, I do hereby notify and promise, by and with the Advice and Consent of his Majesty's Council of this Colony, that over and above their Pay, Two Hundred Thousand Acres of his Majesty's the King of Great *Britains* Lands, on the East Side of the River *Ohio*, within this Dominion, One Hundred Thousand Acres whereof to be contiguous to the said Fort, and the other Hundred Thousand Acres to be on, or near the River (*Ohio*) shall be laid off and

granted to such Persons, who by their voluntary Engagement, and good Behaviour in the said Service, shall deserve the same. And I further promise, that the said Lands shall be divided amongst them immediately after the Performance of the said Service, in a proportion due to their respective merit, as shall be represented to me by their Officers, and held and enjoyed by them without paying any Rights, and also free from the Payment of Quit-rents, for the Term of Fifteen Years. And I do appoint this Proclamation to be read and published at the Court-Houses, Churches and Chapels in each County within this Colony, and that the Sheriffs take Care the same be done accordingly.

Given at the Council Chamber in Williamsburg, on the 19th Day of February, in the 27th Year of his Majesty's Reign, Annoque Domini, 1754.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

GOD SAVE THE KING.*

But it is oftentimes the intangible, rather than the tangible, that awakens and keeps awake interest; I cannot believe Washington's lively interest in the West can be explained wholly by the sordid argument that his heart was where his landed treasure was. This may have been true at first; it was probably true, now, as he retires, seemingly, from public view in 1759 to Mount Vernon and marries, that his inheritance in western bounty forest-land was the cord that bound him to the land where his boyhood battles had been fought. I am sure that it took something more than merely this claim to a few thousand vague acres of land to give the wide-awake man an enthusiastic desire to obtain a larger acreage, especially in a day when most people probably held those bounty claims to be of uncertain, if not trifling, value. It is easy to praise a Boone or Harrod for going romantically westward in those early days to enjoy the fruits of the eager chase and the glimpses of primeval forest, where courage and resourcefulness were needed; it was not quite so romantic to pay cash down for a royal governor's vague promise of a tract of bounty-land. Yet faith in the West, as shown by the purchases Washington soon began to make, was a faith unknown among the land hunters. This belief in the great future of the trans-Allegheny land, now showed itself, this early, in the heart of Washington, and it is vastly more interesting

*N. Y. Col. Mss. LXXVIII, 68.

than any record of his possessions; for in his case it was a marvelously precious inspiration that was contagious; it meant something to have a man of his standing desire to own land in that country of which Thomas Jefferson is said to have remarked that he knew little and cared less.

How rapidly Washington began to acquire land we cannot know with perfect accuracy; his attention must have been devoted very seriously to the western problem, however, throughout those first two or three years of married life, 1760-1761-1762, for, in 1763, we find him chief promotor of what he named the "Mississippi Land Company", which should secure a tract of land on the Ohio or Mississippi Rivers for speculative purposes.

The Ohio Company to which Washington's brothers belonged, and which had been a factor in precipitating the French War, was leading a feeble existence; it had not complied with the stipulation of its charter, namely, to place one hundred families on its 200,000-acre grant between the Monongahela and Great Kanawha Rivers. At the close of the war in 1760 a reorganization of the company was unsuccessfully essayed — unsuccessful because of the conflicting claims of parties seeking western lands; the soldiers of the Virginia Regiment had bounty claims that conflicted with the Ohio Company grant; in 1763 a new company which later received what was called the "Walpole Grant" was being promoted; and in the face of all this story of conflicting claims and counter-claims, the British ministry proposed to keep settlers from crossing the mountains at all, a policy that culminated in the burlesque Proclamation of 1763.

It was just four months before this proclamation was promulgated that Washington's Mississippi Company was formed; the result must have been the work of some months, probably years, for it was too comprehensive in character to have been the outgrowth of any impromptu gathering. As the Articles of this Mississippi Company have never been published, and as the document throws an interesting light on Washington's speculations in land, they are here reproduced. Not the least interesting matter touched upon is that which limits the stockholders to residents of Virginia and Maryland, especially to one who recalls the bitter factional fight between Washington, on the one side, and

General Forbes, on the other, in 1758, which led the English general to say with some heat that Washington's behavior "was in no ways like a soldier."* In fact, I do not think it would be difficult to show that the Mississippi Company was the crystallization of the sentiment expressed on the part of Washington and his fellow-Virginians against the opening of that very Pennsylvania Road. "By a very unguarded letter of Col. Washington's that accidentally fell into my hands," wrote Forbes to Col. Bouquet, August 9, 1758, "I am now at the bottom of their scheme against this new road, a scheme that I think was a shame for any officer to be concerned in—but more of this at our meeting."† It is plain on the face of this manuscript that Pennsylvanians or others were to be debarred from controlling the Mississippi Company, which is as interesting, in its way, as the fact that, about a century later Pennsylvania forbade the Baltimore and Ohio Railway to enter the state.

The articles of the Mississippi Company read:

"We whose names are underwritten do agree to form a Body of Adventurers by the name of the Mississippi Company, with a view to explore and settle some Tracts of Land upon the Mississippi and its Waters; and the better to succeed in this design have determined on the following Rules and Regulations

First it is proposed that the Company shall consist of Fifty Members and no more, who are to contribute equally towards the expence of sending an Agent to England to obtain from the Crown a Grant of Lands on the Mississippi aforesaid and its Waters to the amount and upon the terms hereafter mentioned.

- 1st. Every single Adventurer to have 50,000 Acres of Land for a share.
- 2 The Land to lye on the Mississippi and its Waters.
- 3 The Settlement to be protected from the Insults of the Savages, by the assistance of His Majesty's Forces disposed of in such manner as the Ministry shall think proper.
- 4 The Lands to be obtained if possible clear of all Composition, Money, Expences and Quit Rents for the space of twelve Years or longer upon Condition that we settle the same in that time if not interrupted by the Savages.

That the Subscribers begin to solicit the Grant without further

*See the author's *Old Glade Road (Historic Highways, V)* 81-123.

† Id. 135-6.

delay before the number to be admitted is made up; and the Adventurers who join to be liable for an equal share of all expences incurred.

That the Lands obtained by such Grant be now held in Jointenancy but that every adventurer hold his respective share to himself and his Heirs in Fee simple, any thing in the said Grant to the Contrary notwithstanding.

That a General Meeting of the Company be annually had on the _____ day of _____ at _____, and to consist of a Majority of the Members residing in Virginia and Maryland who shall have power and Authority to determine by a Majority of the Members so met all matters relative to the purposes for which the Company is instituted And to make such Rules and Regulations as they shall from time to time think expedient and for the Interest of the common cause Provided that if any Member of the Company residing in Great Britain or any other part of the World shall at any General Meeting of the Company happen to be present it shall be lawful for such Member to Vote at such Meeting

Whereas it will be highly necessary to preserve Order and Decency at the General Meetings of the said Company; It is agreed that the Majority of the Company shall choose a President who is to preside for that Meeting only and to have the casting Vote in case of a Division And the President so chosen shall collect the Votes of the Members present whose Orders and Resolutions shall be entered in a Book to be kept for that purpose, and shall be absolutely conclusive on the said Company.

That it shall be in the power of the said Company from time to time at a general Meeting as aforesaid to direct and appoint any Sum and Sums of money that they shall judge necessary for the purposes for which this Company is instituted to be paid into the hands of the Treasurer for the time being by every particular Member, which Sum and Sums of Money the Subscribers to bind themselves their Heirs, Executors and Administrators to pay into the hands of such Treasurer at the times to be appointed for the payment of the same Provided that if any Member or Members shall neglect or refuse to pay into the hands of the said Treasurer upon demand or shall fail to pay down to him at the next general Meeting of the Company the full sum with legal Interest thereon from the time of the demand so made the said delinquent shall forfeit all Right Title and Interest in the said Company and be no longer deemed a Member thereof.

The said Company at the first general meeting to be had shall appoint a Treasurer out of their Number who shall immediately on his appointment and before he is admitted to Act in that Office enter into Bond with two or More good and sufficient Securities to the said Company by the name of the Mississippi Company for the just and faithful performance of his Office of Treasurer and shall also make Oath that he will execute the same with justice and punctuality; which said Treasurer shall also Act to the said Company as Clerk or Secretary and shall act in the

Capacity of Clerk and Treasurer one Year and from thence to the next meeting of the Company and no longer And shall be allowed by the said Company for his Services five per Centum for all Moneys that shall pass through his hands.

A Committee of Ten Members to be chosen by the Company five of which shall be a sufficient number to do business who shall meet twice a year (to wit) on the——day of——and on the——day of—— or oftener as the exigencies of the Company shall require upon notice of such extraordinary meeting being published in the Virginia and Maryland Gazette by one or more of the Members of the Committee And it shall be lawful for any Member of the said Company that shall happen to be present at such Committees tho' not nominated as one of the Committee to vote at such Meeting Provided nevertheless that the Treasurer for the time being shall have no Right to vote at ye meeting of such Committees.

Such Committee shall have power to put in Execution such Plans as shall be laid down by a General meeting of the Company and apply the moneys raised by the said Company for the effecting such Plans.

The Treasurer and Secretary of the Company afores^d shall act as Clerk or Secretary to the Committee and shall enter all the Orders of the said Committee in a Book to be kept for that purpose

That no Member shall have a Right to dispose of his share without first acquainting the Company at a General meeting and giving the Company the preference of purchasing

If any of the Members of the said Company shall hereafter sell and dispose of his whole share to {divers Persons he shall lose his Right of voting in the said Company and it shall be in the power of the said Company to choose which of the said Purchasers they shall most approve to be a member of the said Company, no more than one Vote being to be allowed for one share But if any member shall dispose of only part of his share he shall not lose his Right of Voting at any meeting of the said Company, any thing to the contrary of this and the foregoing cause seeming to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

It shall not be lawful for any Member of the said Company purchasing the share or shares of any other Member or Member's thereof to have more than one Vote.

In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands this 3d day of June 1763.

FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
Jⁿ^o AUG^e WASHINGTON,
ANTHONY STEWART,
RICH^d PARKER,
ROBERT WODDROP,
W^m FLOOD,

ROBERT BRENT,
WILLIAM BEALE JUN^r,
HENRY FITZHUGH,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THO^s LUD: LEE,
ADAM STEPHEN,

WILLIAM LEE,
PRESLEY THORNTON,
WILLIAM BOOTH,
THOS^S BULLITT,

WILLIAM BROCKENBROUGH,
WILLIAM FITZHUGH,
G^D WASHINGTON.

Four months later the Proclamation of 1763 was issued (October) and seems to have quieted temporarily everything of an organized nature so far as western land speculation was concerned; it could not, however, stop the rush of pioneers across the mountains, nor the activities of favorites who were in a position to speculate, like George Croghan; nor could it abrogate in any way the bounty-land claims held by Washington and his officers and men of the Virginia Regiment. Nor could it stop the explorations of speculators' agents—and it was to one of these enterprising pioneers, who was already located in the West, a comrade of the late war, Captain William Crawford, settled at what is now New Haven, Pa., that Washington now turned to carry out his plan of securing more western land. Washington's original letter to Crawford is dated at Mount Vernon, September 21, 1767. It runs:

"From a sudden hint of your brother's [Valentine Crawford] I wrote you a few days ago in a hurry. Having since had more time for reflection, I write now deliberately, and with greater precision, on the subject of my last letter. I then desired the favor of you (as I understood rights might now be had for the lands which have fallen within the Pennsylvania line) to look me out a tract of about fifteen hundred, two thousand or more acres somewhere in your neighborhood, meaning only by this, that it may be as contiguous to your own settlement as such a body of good land can be found. It will be easy for you to conceive that ordinary or even middling lands would never answer my purpose or expectation, so far from navigation and under such a load of expenses as these lands are incumbered with. No; a tract to please me must be rich (of which no person can be a better judge than yourself), and, if possible, level. Could such a piece of land be found, you would do me a singular favor in falling upon some method of securing it immediately from the attempts of others, as nothing is more certain than that the lands can not remain long ungranted, when once it is known that rights are to be had. The mode of proceeding I am at a loss to point out to you; but, as your own lands are under the same circumstances, self-interest will naturally lead you to an inquiry. I am told that the land or surveyor's office is kept at Carlisle [Pa.]. If so, I am of opinion that Colonel

[John] Armstrong, an acquaintance of mine*, has something to do in the direction of it, and I am persuaded he would readily serve me. I will write to him by the first opportunity on that subject, that the way may be prepared for your application to him, if you find it necessary. For your trouble and expense you may depend on being repaid. It is possible, but I do not know that it really is the case, that the custom in Pennsylvania will not admit so large a quantity of land as I require to be entered together; if so, this may perhaps be arranged by making several entries to the same amount, if the expense of doing it is not too heavy. This I only drop as a hint, leaving the whole to your discretion and good management. If the land can only be secured from others, it is all I want at present. The surveying I would choose to postpone, at least till the spring, when, if you can give me any satisfactory account of this matter, and of what I am next going to propose, I expect to pay you a visit† about the last of April. I offered in my last to join you in attempting to secure some of the most valuable lands in the King's part,‡ which I think may be accomplished after awhile, notwithstanding the proclamation that restrains it at present, and prohibits the settling of them at all; for I can never look upon that proclamation in any other light (but this I say between ourselves) that as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians. It must fall, of course, in a few years, especially when those Indians consent to our occupying the lands. Any person, therefore, who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good lands, and in some measure marking and distinguishing them for his own, in order to keep others from settling them, will never regain it. If you will be at the trouble of seeking out the lands, I will take upon me the part of securing them, as soon as there is a possibility of doing it, and will, moreover, be at all the cost and charges of surveying and patenting the same. You shall then have such a reasonable proportion of the whole as we may fix upon at our first meeting; as I shall find it necessary, for the better furthering of the design, to let some of my friends be concerned in the scheme, who must also partake of the advantages. By this time it may be easy for you to discover that my plan is to secure a good deal of land. You will consequently come in for a very handsome quantity; and as you will obtain it without any costs or expenses, I hope you will be encouraged to begin the search in time. I would choose, if it were practicable, to get large tracts together; and it might be desirable to have them as near your settlement or Fort Pitt as they can be obtained of good quality, but not to neglect others at a greater distance, if fine bodies of it lie in one place. It may be worthy of your inquiry to find out how the Maryland back line will run,* and what is said about laying off

*Fellow-officer in the campaign of 1758.

† Postponed, we shall see, until 1770.

‡ Land lying outside of the limits of the colonies.

* Western boundary.

Neale's grant. I will inquire particularly concerning the Ohio Company, that we may know what to apprehend from them. For my own part, I should have no objection to a grant of land upon the Ohio, a good way below Pittsburgh, but would first willingly secure some valuable tracts nearer at hand. I recommend, that you keep this whole matter a secret, or trust it only to those in whom you can confide, and who can assist you in bringing it to bear by their discoveries of land. This advice proceeds from several very good reasons, and, in the first place, because I might be censured for the opinion I have given in respect to the King's proclamation, and then, if the scheme I am now proposing to you were known, it might give the alarm to others, and, by putting them upon a plan of the same nature, before we could lay a proper foundation for success ourselves, set the different interests clashing, and, probably, in the end, overturn the whole. All this may be avoided by a silent management, and the operation carried on by you under the guise of hunting game, which you may, I presume, effectually do, at the same time you are in pursuit of land. When this is fully discovered, advise me of it, and if there appears but a possibility of succeeding at any time hence, I will have the lands immediately surveyed, to keep others off, and leave the rest to time and my own assiduity. If this letter should reach your hands before you set out, I should be glad to have your thoughts fully expressed on the plan here proposed, or as soon afterwards as convenient; for I am desirous of knowing in due time how you approve of the scheme."*

Many questions of interest arise in reading this characteristic letter. The one perhaps of primary importance is, was the writer thinking of private investment when he proposed this "scheme" to Crawford or was he keeping in mind the Mississippi Company when he refers to allowing some of his "friends be concerned in the scheme"; or did he have in mind securing this land for the soldiers who held bounty land claims? Although four years had elapsed since the issuing of the Proclamation of 1763 (which reconfirmed, it must be remembered, the bounty-lands to the heroes of the Virginia Regiment) it is not at all certain that Washington did not still hope to organize a company; at least I know of no other body of men with whom Washington suggested uniting in land speculation save those associated with him in the Mississippi Company. And if he did not have in mind the large acreage called for per stockholder in the articles of that Company, for whom was he planning to acquire the evident immense tract that he was desiring Crawford to locate?

*C. W. Butterworth, *Washington-Crawford Letters*, 1-5.

It seems evident, to a degree at least, that now, in 1767, Washington was still working along the lines laid down in the articles of his Company. While the West was securely under the rule of the Crown—was still unquestionably the “King’s part”—he could hope for such a grant as the Mississippi Company had prayed for; but the moment the region south of Pennsylvania and west of Virginia and Maryland in any wise passed out of the Crown’s hands, the Mississippi Company could have no hope of a grant.

And this is exactly what happened. In the very next year, 1768, occurred the memorable Treaty of Fort Stanwix at Rome, N. Y. By a shrewd piece of diplomacy Dr. Walker of Virginia defeated the plan of Lord Hillsborough, who was intent on fixing a hard-and-fast western boundary line for the colonies by extending the western line of Georgia straight northward, and “purchased” of the Six Nations—for Virginia—all that territory now occupied by Kentucky and West Virginia.* This treaty quite sounded the death knell of the companies then lobbying at London for grants of land by the Crown. And, in proof, we find that almost immediately Washington is taking up the matter of the bounty claims with Governors Botetourt and Dunmore of Virginia, instead of sending agents to London. True, this does not explain the strength of the Walpole grant, for, as late as 1773, we find Washington preparing to send Crawford “below the Scioto” to survey the bounty lands. The Revolution put a final end to all these companies, the soldiers having bounty claims, only, realizing anything from all these years of planning and intriguing.

Washington did not visit Crawford in 1767 as he proposed. That the visit was delayed until 1770 probably may be taken as additional proof of the change in his plans occasioned by the collapse of his Mississippi bubble. But all this did not mitigate against Washington, who personally profited by Crawford’s activity, as he seems to have been ready to take over all the land for himself that Crawford had secured for Washington and “his friends”. This was not an excessive amount, and Crawford soon

*See the author’s *Boone’s Wilderness Road (Historic Highways VI)* 20-23.

found it was more difficult to keep interlopers off the land than to locate and "acquire" possession of it.*

At last, in the fall of 1770, Washington was ready to make the long-postponed western tour. From what has gone before, we can believe that his Mississippi Company had been forgotten; that his specific interests now were (a) to see the tracts of land Crawford had secured for him at Great Meadows, near Stewart's Crossing (New Haven, Pa.), and on Chartier's Creek; (b) to look over the best unoccupied tracts along the Ohio for personal purchase; and (c) "make a beginning" in actually securing the bounty lands for the soldiers of his Virginia Regiment. The most light to be had on the situation at the time of his departure is probably to be gained from his letter of April 15th to Governor Botetourt which reads:

"Being fully persuaded of your Excellency's inclination to render every just and reasonable service to the people you govern—and being encouraged—to believe that your Lordship is desirous of being fully informed how far the grant of land solicited by Mr. Walpole and others will affect the interest of this country in general, or individuals in particular, I shall take the liberty (as I am pretty intimately acquainted with the situation of the frontier of this dominion) to inform your Lordship, that the bounds of that grant, if obtained upon the extensive plan proposed, will comprehend at least four-fifths of the land, for the purchase and survey of which this government has lately voted two thousand five hundred pounds sterling. It must, therefore, destroy the well grounded hopes of those, (if no reservation is made in their favor,) who have had the strongest assurances, that the government could give, of enjoying a certain portion of the lands, which have cost this country so much blood and treasure to secure. By the extracts, which your Excellency did me the honor to enclose, I perceive, that the petitioners propose to begin opposite to the mouth of the Scioto River, which is at least seventy or seventy-five miles below the Great Kanawha, and more than three hundred from Pittsburg, and to extend from thence in a southwardly direction through the pass of the Ouasioto [Cumberland] Mountain, which, by Evans's map, and the best accounts I have been able to get from persons who have explored that country, will bring them near the latitude of North Carolina. Thence they proceed northeastwardly to the Kanawha, at the junction of New River and Green Briar, upon both of which waters we have many settlers upon lands actually patented. From that point they

*For the interesting story of Washington's lands on Miller's Run, and his quarrel and suit-at-law with his Scotch-Irish squatters see the author's *Washington and the West*, 144-159.

go up the Green Briar to the head of its northeasterly branch, thence easterly to the Alleghany Mountains, thence along these mountains to the line of Lord Fairfax, and thence with his line, and the lines of Maryland and Pennsylvania, till the west boundary of the latter intersects the Ohio, and finally down that river to the place of beginning. These, my Lord, are the bounds of a grant prayed for, and which, if obtained, will give a fatal blow, in my humble opinion, to the interests of this country. But these are my sentiments as a member of the community at large. I now beg leave to offer myself to your Excellency's notice, in a more interested point of view, as an individual, and as a person, who considers himself in some degree the representative of the officers and soldiers, who claim a right to two hundred thousand acres of this very land, under a solemn act of government, adopted at a period very important and critical to his Majesty's affairs in this part of the world. I shall, therefore, rely on your Lordship's accustomed goodness and candor, whilst I add a few words in support of the equity of our pretensions, although, in truth, I have very little to say on this subject now, which I have not heretofore taken the liberty of observing to your Excellency. The first letter I ever did myself the honor of writing to you, on the subject of this land, and to which I beg leave to refer, contained a kind of historical account of our claim; but as there requires nothing more to elucidate a right, than to offer a candid exhibition of the case, supported by facts, I shall beg leave to refer your Lordship to an order of Council, of the 18th of February, 1754, and to Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation, which issued in consequence of that order, both of which are enclosed. I will next add, that these troops not only enlisted agreeably to the proclamation, but behaved so much to the satisfaction of the country, as to be honored with the most public acknowledgments of it by the Assembly. Would it not be hard, then, my Lord, to deprive men under these circumstances, or their representatives, of the just reward of their toils? Was not this act of the Governor and Council offered to the soldiers, and accepted by them, as an absolute compact? And though the exigency of affairs, or the policy of government, made it necessary to continue these lands in a dormant state for some time, ought not their claim to be considered, in preference to all others? When the causes cease, we fain would hope so. We flatter ourselves, that it will also appear to your Lordship in this point of view, and that, by your kind interposition, and favorable representation of the case, his Majesty will be graciously pleased to confirm this land to us, agreeably to a petition presented to your Excellency in Council on the 15th of last December; with this difference only, that, instead of Sandy Creek (one of the place allotted for the location of our grant, and which we now certainly know will not be comprehended within the ministerial line, as it is called). We may be allowed to lay a part of our grant between the west boundary of Pennsylvania and the river Ohio, which will be expressly agreeable to the words of Governor Dinwiddie's

proclamation, inasmuch as it is contiguous to the Fork of the Monongahela."

An interesting query arises spontaneously in reading this letter, taken in connection with certain others written about this time, especially that to George Mason, April 5, 1769, as to whether the long delay on the part of the British ministry to requite the just claims of the officers and soldiers of the Virginia Regiment did not exert a powerful influence on the heart of this keen-eyed, just man in favor of the need of emancipation of the Colonies from the mother-country. Is there not a double meaning to his words (if one has in mind Washington's endless succession of appeals for justice in this cause), when he writes: "At a time, when our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom, it seems highly necessary that something should be done to avert the stroke, and maintain the liberty, which we have derived from our ancestors. . . . We have already, it is said, proved the inefficacy of addresses to the throne, and remonstrances to Parliament. How far, then, their attention to our rights and privileges to be awakened or alarmed, by starving their trade and manufactures, remains to be tried. . . . The more I consider a scheme of this sort, the more ardently I wish success to it." In his own peculiar way this man, who was to lead the Colonies in their great conflict, was now coming face to face with the spirit of those "lordly masters in Great Britain" — to a degree that was true of few other Americans. Never had men a fairer, clearer title to ministerial consideration than these Virginia bounty-land claimants, and for almost ten years now, even with the commander of Fort Necessity and heroic aide to Braddock as their patient, diplomatic spokesman, they had not been able to get satisfaction — while prime favorites and satellites close to the King's ear were able, seemingly, to secure vast tracts of land. However the outcome, is it possible that this vexatious experience of the unwillingness of the ministry to keep a notoriously worthy promise of a colonial governor made no firm impression on Washington's mind?

Such was the situation, then, in the summer of 1770. The

veterans of the Virginia Regiment were fully organized in the attempt to secure their rights. On the 15th of December, 1769, the petition, mentioned above, was presented to Governor Botetourt, praying for definite action. What satisfaction, if any, Washington had been able to secure before leaving Mount Vernon for the West, October 5th, we do not know. He probably had no new assurance, either from London or Winchester.

In view of the fact, noted before, that the more formal *Journal* of this tour was mutilated and is partly illegible, the other briefer record has an added importance. It has not been published heretofore and is accordingly included here. Points mentioned in the Ohio Valley can be identified by the foot-notes in the formal *Journal*:

Octr. 1. Rid to my Mill and the Ditchers with Mr Warn Washington.—Colo Fairfax dined here—the Doctr (Rumney still here)—Mr Carr came in ye Even^g—

2. At home all day—John Savage formerly a Lieut.^t in the Virga Service & one W^m Carnes came here to enter their claim to a share in ye 200,000 Acres of Land Mr Washington & Doctr Rumney here—

3. At home all day—Mr Washington—Mr Carr—Savage & Carnes went away after Breakfast—the Doctr still here

4. In the Afternoon Doctr Rumney went away & Doctr Craik came.—

5. Set out in Company with Doctr Craik for the Settlement on Redstone &c.^a dind at Mr Bryan Fairfax's & lodged at Leesburg ———

6. Bated at old Codeys—Dind and lodgd at my Brother Sam's—

7. Dind at Rinkers and lodged at Sam^l Pritchards.—

8. Vale Crawford joined us, & he and I went to Colo Cresaps leaving the Doctr at Pritchards with my boy Billy who was taken sick

9. Went from Colo Cresaps to Rumney where in the Afternoon the Doctr my Servant & Baggage arrivd

10. Bought two Horses & sent one of my Servants (Giles) home with those I rid up—proceeded on our journey and lodged at one Wise (now Turners) Mill—

11. Set out about 11 Oclock and arrived at one Gillams on George Creek 10½ Miles d from the North Branch & same dist^e from F C

12. Octr.—Started from Gillams between Sun rising & Day Break and arrivd at the Great crossing of Yaugh.^a about Sun set or before—

13. left this place early in the Morning and arrivd at Captⁿ Crawfords (known by the name of Stewarts crossing) abt ½ after four Oclock.—

14. at Captⁿ Crawford's all day
15. Rid to see the Land he got for me & my Brother's——
16. At Captⁿ Crawford's till the Evening—then went to Mr John Stephenson's
17. Arrivd at Fort—dining at one Widow Miers at Turtle Creek
18. Dined in the Fort at the Officers Club.
19. Dined at Colo Croghans abt 4 Miles from Pittsburg & Returnd
20. Set out for the Big Kanhawa with Dr Craik Captⁿ Crawford & others—Incampd abt 14 Miles off
21. Got abt 32 Miles further and Incampd abt 3 Miles below Little Bever Ck
22. Reachd the Mingo Town abt 29 Miles by my Computation
23. Stayd at this place till one Clock in the Afternoon & padled abt 12 Miles down the River & Incampd
24. We reachd the Mouth of a Creek calld Fox Grape vine Creek (10 Miles up which is a Town of Delawares calld Franks Town) abt 3 Oclock in the Afternoon—distant from our last Camp abt 26 Miles
25. Incampd in the long reach abt 30 Miles from our last lodge according to my Computation
26. Incampd at the Mouth of a Creek about 4 Miles above the Mouth of Muskingum distant abt 32 Miles
27. Incampd at the Mouth of great Hockhocking distant from our last Incampment abt 32 Miles
28. Meeting with Kiashuta & other Indian Hunters we proceeded only 10 Miles to day, & Incampd below the Mouth of a Ck on the West the name of wch I know not
29. Went round what is calld the Great Bent & Campd two Miles below it distant from our last Incampment abt 29 Miles
30. Incampd Early Just by the old Shawnee Town distant from our last no more than 15 Miles
31. Went out a Hunting & met the Canoe at the Mouth of the big Kanhawa distant only 5 Miles mak^s ye whole distance from Fort Pitt accord^s to my Acc^t 266 Miles
- [Nov.r] 1. Went up the Great Kanhawa abt 10 Miles with the People that were with me——
- 2 Hunting the most part of the day the Canoe went up abt 5 Miles further
- 3 Returned down the River again and Incampd at the Mouth——
4. Proceeded up the Ohio on our return to Fort Pitt Incampd abt 9 Miles below the rapid at the Gr^t Bent
5. Walk'd across a Neck of Land to the Rapid and Incampd about Miles above it
- 6 In about 5 Miles we came to Kiashutas Camp & there Halted
- 7 Reached the Mouth of Hockhocking—distant abt 20 Miles
- 8 Came within a Mile of the Mouth of Muskingum 27 Miles

9. Got to the 3 Islands in the 2^d long reach about 17 Miles
- 10 Arrivd at the lower end of the long reach abt 12 Miles—not setting of till 12 Oclock
11. Came about 18 Miles after hard working the greatest part of the day
12. Only got about 5 Miles the Curr^t being very strong against us
- Novr 13th Reachd the uppermost broken Timber Creek distant about 7 Miles—contending with a violent Curr^t the whole day——
- 14 Came to the Captening or Fox Grape Vine Creek distant about 10 Miles
- 15 Reachd Wheeling (on the West) where there had been an Indian Town & where some of the Shawnes are going to settle in the Spring distant from our last Incampment 12 Miles—
- 16 Got within 13 Miles of the lower cross Creeks—13 Miles
- 17 Reached the Mingo Town about 13 Miles more——
- 18 At this place all day waiting for Horses which did not arrive
- 19 At the same place, & in the same Situation as yesterday——
- 20 Our Horses arriving about One Oclock at 2 we set out for Fort Pitt and got about 10 Miles
- 21 Reachd Fort Pitt in the Afternoon & lodgd at Samples
- 22 Invited the Officers of the Fort and other Gentlemen to dine with me at Samples
- 23 Left Fort Pitt and reachd Mr John Stephensons
- 24 Got to Captⁿ Crawford's—the Rivr Yaughyaughane being very high.
- 25 Reachd Hoglands at the great crossing
- Novr 26 Came to Killams on Georges Creek——
- 27 Got to the Old Town—to Colo^s Cresaps distant from Killams about 25 Miles
- 28 Reached Jasper Rinkers about 38¹/₂ Miles from Cresaps & 30 from Cox's—not long ones——
- 29 Came to my Brothers (distant about 25 Miles) to Dinner—
- 30 Reachd Charles Wests 35 Miles from my Brother's

Reaching home at the close of November,* it is probable that the patient man went at once to work circulating the infor-

*As a specimen of Washington's tireless attention to details note his further record, made on this western trip, of the weather. It is entitled "Acct of the Weather—in October":

- "Octr 1st Wind Southwardly and Warm with flying Clouds.—
2. Raining, Hailing, or Snowing the whole day—with the Wind Northerly Cold & exceeding disagreeable—
3. Clear but cold—Wind being very high from the Northwest—
4. Clear and pleasant—Wind being fresh.—and very fresh.—

mation he had secured first-hand from the land in question. But it is clear that there was no measurable progress, and in June of the next year we find the Governor of Virginia proposing to

5. Clear, Warm, & remarkably pleasant with very little or no Wind
6. Again clear pleasant and still
7. As pleasant as the two preceeding days
8. Pleasant forenoon—but the Wind Rising about Noon it clouded & threatned hard for Rain—towards Night it rained a little & ceased but contd Cloudy
9. Exceeding Cloudy & heavy in the forenoon & constant Rain in the Afternoon
10. Cloudy with Rain & sunshine alternately
11. Wet Morning with flying Cloud afterwards—towards the Evening the Wind sprung out at No West—
12. Rain in the Night with flying Cloud accompanied with a little Rain nw and then all day—cold & Raw—
13. Clear and pleasant Wind tolerably fresh from the Westward all day
14. Very pleasant but Wind fresh in the Afternoon.
15. Exceeding Cloudy & sometimes droppg. Rain but afterwds clear
16. Frosty Morning—but clear and pleasant afterwards
17. Exceeding warm & very pleasant till the Evening then lowering
18. Misty & Cloudy in the Evening the Forepart of the day being very warm
19. Misty & cloudy all day
20. Misty—but the Evening clear tho somewhat Cool—
21. Cloudy & very raw & cold in the forenoon—about Mid-night it began to Snow & contd to do so—more or less all the remaing part of the Night & next day
22. Very raw & cold—Cloudy & sometimes Snowing. & sometimes Raining
23. Exceeding Cloudy & like for Snow—& sometimes really doing so—
24. Clear & pleasant Morning but Cloudy & Cold afterwards
25. Rain in the Night but clear & warm till abt Noon—then Windy & Cloudy
26. Clear and pleasant all day
27. A little Gloomy in the Morning but clear, still, & pleast afterwards
28. Much such a day as the preceeding one
- 29th. Pleasant forenoon & clear but Cloudy and Wet afternoon.—
30. Raining in the Night—Raw cold & cloudy forenoon but clear & pleasant afternoon—
31. Remarkably clear & pleasant with but little wind——"

postpone the matter further.* By the fall of 1771 appreciable progress had been made, for Washington was able to write George Mercer on November 7th, that while affairs were not in "that forwardness, which I could wish, owing, I believe I may say, to other causes as well as to a lukewarmness in those from whom we seek redress", yet "the claims are now all given in, and the

*Washington's reply, dated 15 June 1771 reads: "The very obliging offer your Lordship was pleased to make, the day I left Williamsburg, in behalf of the officers and soldiers, who, under the faith of government, lay claim to two hundred thousand acres of land, on the waters of the Ohio, promised them by proclamation in 1754, I did not embrace, because it is evident to me, who am in some degree acquainted with the situation of that country, and the rapid progress now making in the settlement of it, that delay at this time would amount to the loss of the land, inasmuch as emigrants are daily and hourly settling on the choice spots, and waiting a favorable opportunity to solicit legal titles, on the ground of pre-occupancy, when the [land] office shall be opened. I therefore hoped, and the officers and soldiers, who have suffered in the cause of their country, still hope, that, although your Lordship was of opinion you could not at that time vest them with an absolute and *bona fide* grant of the land, yet that you will permit them to take such steps, at their own expense and risk, as others do, to secure their lands agreeably to proclamation, especially as their claim is prior to any other, and better founded, they having a solemn act of government and the general voice of the country in their favor. This is the light, my Lord, in which the matter appeared to me, and in this light it is also considered by the officers with whom I have lately had a meeting. The report gains ground, that a large tract of country on the Ohio, including every foot of land to the westward of the Alleghany Mountains is granted to a company of gentlemen in England, to be formed into a separate government. If this report is really well founded, there can be no doubt of your Lordship's having the earliest and most authentic accounts of it, since it so essentially interferes with the interests and expectations of this country. To request the favor of your Lordship to inform me whether this report be true, and, if true, whether any attention has been or probably will be paid to the order of Council and proclamation of 1754, may be presumptuous; but, as the officers and soldiers confide in me to transact this business for me, and as it would be a real advantage to them to know the truth of this report, and how largely it is likely to affect them, there needs no other apology for my taking the liberty of addressing you this request, in the hope that your Lordship will condescend to do me the honor of writing a line on the subject by the next post to Alexandria, which will be acknowledged as a peculiar obligation conferred on, my Lord, by your Lordship's most obedient servant."

Governor and Council have determined, that each officer shall share according to the rank in which he entered the service, and that the land shall be distributed in the following manner, namely, to each field-officer fifteen thousand acres, to each captain nine thousand, to each subaltern six thousand, to the cadets two thousand five hundred each, six hundred to a sergeant, five hundred to a corporal, and four hundred to each private soldier." The basis of Washington's expectation is undoubtedly explained in the letter of December 6th to William Crawford, in which he says: "I believe, from what I have lately heard, that there is no doubt now of the charter [Virginia] government taking place on the Ohio; but upon what terms, or how the lands will be granted to the people, I have not been able to learn."

The Revolution temporarily put an end to all land speculation in western lands. Washington was able to secure in all about thirty thousand acres, which proved, according to his own melancholy words, more a source of anxiety than profit.

THE JOURNAL OF 1770.

Oct^r 5th. Began a journey to the Ohio in Company with Doct^r Craik his Servant & two of mine with a lead Horse with Baggage — Dind at Towlston and lodgd at Leesburg distant from Mount Vernon ab^t 45 Miles — here my Portmanteau horse faild in his Stomach —

6. Fed our Horses on the Top of the Ridge at one Codieys & arrivd at my Brother Sam^{ls} on Worthingtons Marsh a little after they had dind, the distance being about 30 Miles — from hence I dispatchd a Messenger to Col^o Stephen apprising him of my arrival and Intended journey —

7. My Portmanteau Horse being unable to proceed, I left him at my Brothers, & got one of his & proceed^d by Jolliffs & Jasper Rinkers to Sam^l Pritchards on Cacapehon; distant according to Acc^t 39 Miles; but by my Computation 42 thus reckond 15 to Jolliffs, 14 to Rinkers; & 13 to Pritchards — At Rinkers which appears to be a cleanly House my boy was taken Sick but continued on to Pritchards — Pritchards is also a pretty good House, their being fine Pasturage, good fences, & Beds tolerably clean —

8. My Servant being unable to Travel, I left him at Pritchards with Doct^r Craik & proceed^d my self with Val^o Crawford to Col^o Cresaps in ord^r to learn from him (being just arrivd from England) the particulars of the Grant said to be lately sold to Walpole & others, for a certain Tract of Country on the Ohio — The distance from Pritchards to Cresaps according to Computation is 26 Miles, thus reckond; to the Fort at Henry Enoch's 8 Miles (road exceed^s bad) 12 to Cox's at the Mouth of little Cacapehon — and 6 afterwards

9. Went up to Rumney in order to buy Work Horses, & meet Doct^r Craik and my Baggage — arrivd there ab^t 12 distance 16 Miles. — in the Afternoon Doct^r Craik and my Serv^t (much amended) and the Baggage, arrivd from Pritchards; said to be 28 Miles

10. Having purchased two Horses, and recoverd another which had been gone from me near 3 Years, I dispatched my boy Giles with my two Riding Horses home & proceeded on my journey; arriving at one Wises (now Turners) Mill about 22 Miles it being Reckond Seven to the place where Cox's Fort formerly stood; 10 to one Parkers; & five Afterwards — the Road from the South Branch to Pattersons C^k is Hilly — down the C^k on which is good Land, sloppy to Parkers — & from Parkers to Turners Hilly again

11. The Morning being wet & heavy we did not set of till 11 O'clock & arrivd that Night at one Killams on a branch of George Ck, distant 10 1/2 Measured Miles from the North Branch of Potomack where we cross^d at the lower end of my Dec^d Brother Aug^s Bottom, known by the name of Pendergrasses — this Crossing is two Miles from the aforesaid Mill & the Road bad as it likewise is to Killams, the Country being very Hilly & Stony. —

From Killams to Fort Cumberland is the same distance that it is to the Crossing above mentioned & the Road from thence to Jolliffs by the old Town much better.

12. We left Killams early in the Morning — breakfasted at the little Meadows 10 Miles of, and lodgd at the great Crossings 20 Miles further, which we found a tolerable good days work. —

The Country we travelld over to day was very Mountainous & Stony, with but very little good Land, & that lying in Spots—

13. Set out about Sunrise, breakfasted at the Great Meadows 13 Miles of, & reachd Captⁿ Crawfords about 5 Oclock—

The Lands we travelld over to day till we had crossd the Laurel Hill (except in small spots) was very Mountainous & indifferent—but when we came down the Hill to the Plantation of Mr Tho^s Gist the L^d appeared charming; that which lay level being as rich & black as any thing coud possibly be—the more Hilly kind, tho of a different complexion must be good, as well from the Crops it produces, as from the beautiful white Oaks that grow thereon—tho white Oak in gener^l indicates poor Land, yet this does not appear to be of that cold kind—The Land from Gists to Crawfords is very broken tho not Mountainous—in Spots exceeding Rich, & in general free from Stone——Crawfords is very fine Land, lying on Yaughyaughgane at a place commonly calld Stewarts Crossing—

Sunday 14th. At Captⁿ Crawfords all day— Went to see a Coal Mine not far from his house on the Banks of the River—The Coal seemd to be of the very best kind, burning freely & abundance of it—

Monday 15th. Went to view some Land which Captⁿ Crawford had taken up for me near the Yaughyaughgane distant about 12 Miles— this Tract which contains about 1600 Acres Includes some as fine Land as ever I saw—a great deal of Rich Meadow—and in general is leveller than the Country about it—this Tract is well Water^d, and has a valuable Mill Seat (except that the Stream is rather too slight, and it is said not constant more than 7 or 8 Months in the Year; but on Acc^t of the Fall, & other conveniences, no place can exceed it) —

—In going to this Land I passed through two other Tracts which Captⁿ Crawford had taken up for my Brothers Saml. and John——that belonging to the former was not so rich as some I had seen; but very valuable on Acc^t of its levelness and little Stone, the Soil & Timber being good—that of the latter, had some Bottom Land up on sm^l runs that was very good(tho narrow) the Hills very rich, but the Land in gen^l broken—I intended to have visited the Land which Crawford

had procured for Lund Washington this day also, but time falling short I was obligd to Postpone it Making it in the Night before I got back to Crawfords where I found Col^o Stephen

The Lands which I passd over to day were generally Hilly, and the growth chiefly White Oak, but very good notwithstanding; & what is extraordinary, & contrary to the property of all other Lands I ever saw before, the Hills are the richest Land; the Soil upon the Sides and Summits of them, being as black as a Coal, & the Growth Walnut, Cherry, Spice Bushes &c^a the flats are not so rich; & a good deal more mixd with Stone

Tuesday 16. At Captⁿ Crawfords till the Evening, when I went to M^r. John Stephenson (on my way to Pittsburg) & lodgd—this day was visited by one M^r. Ennis who had travel'd down the little Kanhawa (almost) from the head to the Mouth, on which he says the Lands are broken, the bottoms neither very wide nor rich, but cov^d with Beach—at the Mouth the Lands are good, & continue so up the River; & about Weeling & Fishing C^k, is according to his Acc^t. a body of fine Land—I also saw a Son of Captⁿ John Hardens who said he had been from the Mouth of little Kanhawa to the big, but his description of the Lands seemed to be so vague and indeterminate, that it was much doubted whether he ever was there or not—He says however that at the Mouth of the Big Kanhawa there may be ab^t 20 or 25,000 Acres of Land had in a Body that is good—that you are not above five or 6 Miles to the Hills, & that the Falls of the Kanhawa are not above 10 Miles up it—

Wednesday 17. Doct^r Craik & myself with Captⁿ Crawford and others arrivd at Fort Pitt, distant from the Crossing 43½ Meas'urd Miles—In Riding this distance we pass^d over a great deal of exceeding fine Land (chiefly White Oak) especially from Sweigley Creek to Turtle Creek but the whole broken; resembling (as I think as all the Lands in the Country does) the Loudoun Lands for Hills.

We lodgd in what is call'd the Town—distant ab^t 300 yards from the Fort at one M^r. Semples who keeps a very good House of Publick Entertainment—these Houses which are built of Logs, & rangd into Streets are on the Monongahela, & I suppose may be ab^t 20 in Number—and inhabited by Indian Traders &c^a.

The Fort is built in the point between the Rivers Alligany & Monongahela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Duquesne stood—it is 5 Sided & Regular, two of which (next the Land) are of Brick; the others Stockade—a Mote incompasses it. The Garrison consists of two Companies of Royal Irish Com-manded by one Captⁿ Edmonson.

Thursday 18th Dind in the Fort with Col^o Croghan & the Officers of the Garrison—Supped there also, meeting with great Civility from the Gentlemen, & engaged to dine with Col^o Croghan the next day at his Seat ab^t 4 Miles up the Alligany.

Friday 19th Rec^d a Message from Col^o Croghan, that the White Mingo & other Chiefs of the 6 Nations had something to say to me, & desiring that I woud be at his House ab^t 11 (where they were to meet) I went up and receivd a Speech with a String of Wampum from the White Mingo to the fol-lowing effect

That as I was a Person who some of them remember to have seen when I was sent on an Embassy to the French, and most of them had heard of; they were come to bid me welcome to this Country, and to desir that the People of Virginia would consider them as friends & Brothers linked together in one chain—that I w^d inform the Governor, that it was their wish to live in peace and harm^y with the white People & that tho their had been some unhappy differences between them and the People upon our Frontiers, it was all made up, and they hopd forgotten; and concluded with saying, that, their Brothers of Virginia did not come among them and Trade as the Inhabi-tants of the other Provinces did, from whence they were affraid that we did not look upon them with so friendly an Eye as they cou^d wish

To this I answerd (after thanking them for their friendly welcome) that all the Injuries & Affronts that had passed on either side was now totally forgotten, and that I was sure noth-ing was more wis^hd and desir^d by the People of Virginia than to liv in the strictest friendship with them—that the Virginians were a People not so much engagd in Trade as the Pennsyl-vanians, &c^a; w^{ch} was the Reason of their not being so fre-

quently among them; but that it was possible they might for the time to come have stricter connections with them, and that I would acquaint the Gov^r with their desires.

After dining at Col^o Croghans we returned to Pittsburg—Col^o Croghan with us, who intended to accompany us part of the way down the River, having engaged an Indian called the Pheasant & one Joseph Nicholson an Interpreter to attend us the whole Voyage.—also a young Indⁿ Warrior

Saturday 20th. We embarked in a large Canoe with sufficient store of Provision & Necessaries, & the following Persons (besides Doct^r Craik & myself) to wit—Captⁿ Crawford Jos^h Nicholson Rob^t Bell—William Harrison—Ch^s Morgan & Dan^l Reardon a boy of Captⁿ Crawfords, & the Indians who were in a Canoe by themselves.

From Fort Pitt we sent our Horses & boys back to Captⁿ Crawfords w['] orders to meet us there again the 14th day of November——

Col^o Croghan, Lieut^t Hamilton and one M^r Magee set out with us—at two we dined at M^r Magee's¹, & Incamped 10 Miles below, & 4 above the Logs Town²—we passed several large Islands³ which appeared to be very good, as the bottoms also did on each side of the River, alternately; the Hills on one side being opposite to the bottoms on the other which seem generally to be abt 3 and 4 hundred yards wide, & so vice versa

Sunday 21. Left our Incampment abt 6 O'clock & breakfasted at the Logs Town,⁴ where we parted with Col^o Croghan & C^a abt 9 O'clock—at 11 we came to the Mouth of Big Beaver Creek,⁵ opposite to which is a good Situation for a House & above it on the same side (that is the West) there appears to be a body of fine Land. ———About 5 Miles lower down on the East side comes in Racoon Ck⁶ At the Mouth of which, & up it, appears to be a body of good Land also—All the Land be-

¹ McKees?

² Near Dead Man's Island.

³ Irvin's, Hog etc.

⁴ Economy, Pa.

⁵ Beaver River.

⁶ Same.

tween this Creek & the Monongahela & for 15 Miles back, is claimed by Col^o Croghan under a purchase from the Indians (and which Sale he says, is confirmed by his Majesty)⁷—— On this Creek where the Branches thereof interlock with the Waters of Shirtees Creek there is, according to Col^o Croghans Acc^t a body of fine Rich level Land—— this Tract he wants to sell, & offers it at £5 Ster^s p^r hund^d with an exemption of Quit rents for 20 years; after which, to be subject to the payment of 4/2 Ster^s p^r Hund^d, provided he can sell it in 10,000 Acre Lots— Note the unsettled state of this Country renders any purchase dangerous.——

From Racoon Creek to little Bever Creek appears to me to be little short of 10 Miles,⁸ & about 3 Miles below this we Incampd; after hiding a Barrel of Bisquet in an Island⁹ (in Sight) to lighten our Canoe——

Monday 22^d—— As it began to Snow about Midnight, & continued pretty steadily at it, it was about 1/2 after Seven before we left our Incampment—— at the distance of about 8 Miles we came to the Mouth of Yellow Creek¹⁰ (to the West) opposite to, or rather below which, appears to be a long bottom of very good Land, and the Assent to the Hills apparently gradual—— there is another pretty large bottom of very good Land about two or 3 Miles above this—— About 11 or 12 Miles from this, & just above what is calld the long Island¹¹ (which tho so distinguished is not very remarkable for length breadth or goodness) comes in on the East side the River, a small Creek or Run¹² the name of which I could not learn; and a Mile or two below the Island, on the West Side, comes in big Stony Creek¹³ (not larger in appearance than the other) on neither of which does there seem to be any large bottoms or body's of good Land—— About 7 Miles from the last Mentioned Creek, 28 from our last Incampment, and about 75 from

⁷ See A. B. Hulbert, *Washington and the West*, 146-7.

⁸ 14 miles.

⁹ Baker's Island?

¹⁰ Same.

¹¹ Brown's Island?

¹² Crockton's Run.

¹³ Will's Creek?

Pittsburg, we came to the Mingo Town¹⁴ Situate on the West Side the River a little above the Cross Creeks ———

This place contains ab Twenty Cabbins, & 70 Inhabitants of the Six Nations ———

Had we set of early, & kept pritty constantly at it, we might have reachd lower than this place to day; as the Water in many places run pretty swift, in general more so than yesterday. ———

The River from Fort Pitt to the Logs Town has some ugly Rifts & Shoals, which we found somewhat difficult to pass, whether from our inexperience of the Channel, or not, I cannot undertake to say—from the Logs Town to the Mouth of little Bever Creek is much the same kind of Water; that is, rapid in some places—gliding gently along in others, and quite still in many — The water from little Bever Creek to the Mingo Town, in general is swifter than we found it the preceeding day, & without any Shallows; there being some one part or other always deep, which is a natural consequence as the River in all the distance from Fort Pitt to this Town has not widened any at all, nor both the bottom's appear to be any larger ———

The Hills which come close to the River opposite to each bottom are Steep; & on the side in view, in many places, Rocky & cragged; but said to abound in good land on the Tops ———

———— These are not a range of Hills; but broken, & cut in two as if there were frequent water courses running through (which however we did not perceive to be the case, consequently they must be small if any) ——— The River along down abounds in Wild Geese, and sever^l kinds of Ducks but in no great quantity ——— We killd five wild Turkeys to day ———

Upon our arrival at the Mingo Town we receivd the disagreeable News of two Traders being killd at a Town calld the Grape Vine Town, 38. Miles below this; which causd us to hesitate whether we shoud proceed or not, & wait for further intelligence;

Tuesday 23 Several imperfect Acc^{ts} coming in, agreeing that only one Person was killd, & the Indians not supposing it to be done by their People, we resolved to pursue our passage, till we could get some more distinct Acc^t of this Transaction —

¹⁴ Two miles below Steubenville, O.

Accordingly abt 2 O'clock we set out with the two Indians which was to accompany us, in our Canoe, and in about 4 Miles came to the Mouth of a Creek calld Sculp Creek,¹⁵ on the East side; at the Mouth of which is a bottom of very good Land, as I am told there like wise is up it.

The Cross Creeks¹⁶ (as they are calld) are not large, that on the West Side however is biggest——At the Mingo Town we found, and left, 60 odd Warriors of the Six Nations going to the Cherokee Country to proceed to War against the Cuttawba's——About 10 Miles below the Town we came to two other cross Creeks¹⁷ that on the West side largest, but not big; & calld by Nicholson French Creek——About 3 Miles or a little better below this, at the lower point of some Islands which stand contiguous to each other¹⁸ we were told by the Indians with us that three Men ¹⁹ from Virginia (by Virginians they mean all the People settled upon Red Stone &c^a) had markd the Land from hence all the way to Red stone——that there was a body of exceeding fine Land lying about this place and up opposite to the Mingo Town—as also down to the Mouth of Fishing Creek—at this place we Incampd

Wednesday 24th We left our Incampment before Sun rise, and abt Six Miles below it, we came to the Mouth of a pretty smart Creek com^g in to the Eastward calld by the Indians Split Island Creek, from its running in against an Island²⁰——On this C^k there is the appearance of good land a distance up it——Six Miles below this again, we came to another Creek on the West side, calld by Nicholson Weeling²¹—and abt a Mile lower down appears to be another small Water²² coming in on the East side; which I remark, because of the Scarcity of them; & to shew how badly furnishd this Country is with Mill Seats—

¹⁵ Not identified.

¹⁶ Indian and Virginian Cross Creeks.

¹⁷ Indian Short Creek (West) Virginia Short Creek (East).

¹⁸ Pike Island?

¹⁹ The Zanes? They were at Wheeling in 1769, the year previous.

²⁰ Glenn's Run and Twin Islands?

²¹ Wheeling Creek.

²² Little Grave Creek.

two or three Miles below this again, is another Run on the West Side²³; up which is a near way by Land to the Mingo Town²⁴; and about 4 Miles lower comes in another on y^e East at which place is a path leading to the Settlement at Red Stone——Ab^t a Mile & half below this again, comes in the Pipe Creek²⁵ so calld by the Indians from a Stone which is found here out of which they make Pipes—opposite to this (that is on the East side), is a bottom of exceeding Rich Land; but as it seems to lye low, I am apprehensive that it is subject to be overflowd——this Bottom ends where the effects of a hurricane appears by the destruction & havock among the Trees——

Two or three Miles below the Pipe Creek is a pretty large Creek on the West side called by Nicholson Fox Grape Vine by others Captewa Creek on which, 8 Miles up it, is the Town calld the Grape Vine Town; & at the Mouth of it, is the place where it was said the Traders livd, & the one was killed——to this place we came ab^t 3 Oclock in the Afternoon, & find^g no body there, we agreed to Camp; that Nicholson and one of the Indians might go up to the Town, & enquire into the truth of the report concerning the Murder²⁶——

Thursday 25th About Seven Oclock Nicholson & the Indian returnd; they found no body at the Town but two old Indian Women (the Men being a Hunting) from these they learnt that the Trader was not killd, but drown'd in attempting to Ford the Ohio; and that only one boy, belonging to the Traders was in these parts; the Trader (fath^r to him) being gone for Horses to take home their Skins——

About half an hour after 7 we set out from our Incampment around which, and up the Creek is a body of fine Land—In our Passage down to this, we see innumerable quantities of Turkeys, & many Deer watering, & browsing on the Shore side, some of which we killd——Neither yesterday nor the day before did we pass any Rift or very rapid Water—the River gliding gently along——nor did we perceive any alteration in the general face

²³ Big Grave Creek.

²⁴ Early path from present Moundsville to Mingo Bottom.

²⁵ Same?

²⁶ Mouth of Captina Creek.

of the Country, except that the bottoms seemd to be getting a little longer & wider, as the Bends of the River grew larger.

About 5 Miles from the Vine Creek comes in a very large Creek to the Eastward calld by the Indians Cut Creek²⁷, from a Town, or Tribe of Indians which they say was cut of entirely in a very bloody Battle between them and the Six Nations—this Creek empties Just at the lower end of an Island,²⁸ and is 70 or 80 yards wide—And I fancy is the Creek commonly calld by the People of Red stone &c^a Weeling——It extends according to the Indians acc^t a great way, & Interlocks with the Branches of Split Island Creek; abounding in very fine bottoms, and exceeding good Land——Just below this, on the West side, comes in a sm^l Run²⁹; & about 5 Miles below it on the West side also another midling large Creek³⁰ emptys, calld by the Indians broken Timber Creek; so named from the Timber that is destroyed on it by a Hurricane; on the head of this was a Town of the Delawares, which is now left——two Miles lower down, on the same side, is another Creek smaller than the last & bearing (according to the Indians) the same name—opposite to these two Creeks (on the East side) appears to be a large bottom of good Land——About 2 Miles below the last mentioned Creek, on the East side, & at the end of y^e bottom aforementioned, comes in a sm^l Creek or large Run——Seven Miles from this comes in Muddy Creek on the East Side the River—a pretty large Creek and heads up against, & with some of the Waters of Monongahela (according to the Indians Acc^t) & contains some bottoms of very good Land; but in general the Hills are steep, & Country broken about it—At the Mouth of this Creek is the largest Flat I have seen upon the River; the Bottom extending 2 or 3 Miles up the River above it, & a Mile below; tho it does not seem to be of the Richest kind—and yet is exceeding good upon the whole, if it be not too low & Subject to Freshet

²⁷ Fish Creek.

²⁸ Wood Island.

²⁹ ?

³⁰ Fishing Creek.

About half way in the long reach³¹ we Incampd, opposite to the beginning of a bottom on the East side of the River — At this place we throug out some Lines at Night & found a Cat fish of the size of our largest River Cats hookd to it in the Morning, tho it was of the smallest kind here — We found no Rifts in this days passage, but pretty swift Water in some places, & still in others — We found the bottom increased in size, both as to length & breadth & the River more Chokd up with Fallen Trees, & the bottom of the River next the Shores rather more Muddy but in general stony as it has been all the way down

Friday 26th/ Left our Incampment at half an hour after 6 Oclock & passd a small run³² on the West side about 4 Miles lower — At the lower end of the long reach & for some distance up it, on the East side, is a large bottom, but low, & covered with beach next the River shore, which is no Indication of good Land — The long reach is a strait course of the River for abt 18 or 20 Miles which appears the more extraordinary as the Ohio in general, is remarkably crooked — there are several Islands³³ in this reach, some containing an 100 or more Acres of Land; but all I apprehend liable to be overflowed. —

At the end of this reach we found one Martin & Lindsay two Traders; & from them learnt that the Person drown'd was one Philips attempting in Comp^a with Rogers another Indⁿ Trader, to Swim the River with their Horses at an improper place; Rogers himself narrowly escaping — five Miles lower down, comes in a large Creek from the Eastward,³⁴ right against an Island of good land, at least a Mile or two in length — at the Mouth of this Creek (the name of w^{ch}) could not learn except that it was call'd by some Bulls Creek from one Bull that hunted on it, is a bottom of good Land, tho rather too much mixd with Beach — opposite to this Island the Indians shoud us a Buffalo Path, the Tracks of which we see

Five or Six Miles below the last mentioned Creek we came

³¹ Long Reach.

³² Opposite Wilson's Island.

³³ Five Islands.

³⁴ This creek cannot be identified.

to the three Island³⁵ (before w^{ch}) we observd a small Run on each side coming in ——— below these Islands is a large body of flat land, with a water course running through it on the East Side, and the Hills back, neither so high; nor steep in appearance as they are up the River ——— On the other hand, the bottoms do not appear so rich, tho much longer & wider — the bottom last mentioned is upon a strait reach of the River, I suppose 6 or 8 Miles in length; at the lower end of which, on the East side comes in a pretty large Run³⁶ from the size of the Mouth ——— About this, above — below — & back, there seems to be a very large Body of flat Land with some little risings on it.

About 12 Miles below the three Islands we Incampd just above the Mouth of a Creek³⁷ which appears pretty large at the Mouth and just above an Island³⁸ — All the Lands from a little below the Creek which I have distinguished by the name of Bull Creek, appears to be level, with some small Hillocks intermixd, as far as we could see into the Country ——— We met with no Rifts to day, but some pretty strong Water ——— upon the whole tolerable gentle ——— the sides of the River was a good deal incommoded with old Trees, w^{ch} impeded our passage a little

This day provd clear & pleasant, the only day since the 18th that it did not Rain or Snow — or threaten the one or other very hard

Saturday 27/

Left our Incampment a Quarter before Seven, and after passing the Creek near w^{ch} we lay & another much the same size & on the same side (West);³⁹ also an Island⁴⁰ ab^t 2 Miles in length (but not wide) we came to the Mouth of Muskingum,⁴¹ distant from our Incampment ab^t 4 Miles ——— This River is ab^t 150 yards wide at the Mouth; a gentle curreant

³⁵ Three Brothers.

³⁶ Bull Creek.

³⁷ Little Muskingum.

³⁸ Not identified.

³⁹ Duck Creek.

⁴⁰ Kerr's Island.

⁴¹ Muskingum River.

& clear stream runs out of it; & is navigable a great way into the Country for Canoes

From Muskingham to the little Kanhawa is about 13 Miles. —this is about as wide at the Mouth as the Muskingham, but the water much deeper—it runs up towards the Inhabitants of Monongahela, and according to the Indians Acc^t Forks about 40 or 50 Miles up it, and the Ridge between the two Prongs leads directly to the Settlement——to this Fork, & above, the Water is navigable for Canoes——On the upper side of this River there appears to be a bottom of exceeding rich Land and the Country from hence quite up to the 3 Islands level & in appearance fine—the River (Ohio) running round it in the nature of a horse shoe, forms a Neck of flat Land w^{ch} added to that run^g up the 2^d long reach (aforementioned) cannot contain less than 50,000 Acres in view

About 6 or 7 Miles below the Mouth of the Canhawa we came to a small Creek on the West Side, which the Ind^{ns} calld little Hockhocking;⁴² but before we did this, we passed another sm^l Creek on the same side near the Mouth of the River & a cluster of Islands⁴³ afterwards——the lands for two or three Miles below the Mouth of the Canhawa on both sides the Ohio, appear broken & indifferent; but opposite to the little hockhocking there is a bottom of exceeding good Land, through w^{ch} there runs a small water course. I suppose there may be of this bottom & flat Land together, two or three thousand Acres—the lower end of this bottom is opposite to a small Island w^{ch} I dare say little of it is to be seen when the River is high⁴⁴——About 8 Miles below little Hockhocking we Incampd opposite to the Mouth of the great Hockhocking, which tho so calld is not a large Water; tho the Indians say Canoes can go up it 40 or 50 Miles——

Since we left the little Kanhawa the Lands neither appear so level nor good—the Bends of the River & Bottoms are longer indeed but not so rich, as in the upper part of the River—

⁴²Little Hockhocking. It is noticeable that Washington does not mention "Blennerhassetts Island."

⁴³Below Blennerhasset's Island.

⁴⁴As today.

Sunday 28th/

Left our Incampment about 7 O'clock—two Miles below, a sm^l run⁴⁶ comes in on the East side, thro a piece of Land that has a very good appearance, the Bottom beginning above our Incampment, & continuing in appearance wide for 4 Miles down, to a place where there comes in a sm^l Run⁴⁶ & to the Hills——and to where we found Kiashuta and his Hunting Party Incampd.—

Here we were under a necessity of paying our Compliments, As this person was one of the Six Nation Chiefs, & the head of them upon this River——In the Person of Kiashuta I found an old acquaintance—He being one of the Indians, that went with me to the French in 1753—He expressd a satisfaction in seeing me and treated us with great kindness; giving us a Quarter of very fine Buffalo——He insisted upon our spending that Night with him, and in order to retard us as little as possible movd his Camp down the River about 6 Miles just below the Mouth of a Creek⁴⁷ the name of which I could not learn (it not being large) at this place we all Incampd——After much Councelling the overnight they all came to my fire the next Morning, with great formality; when Kiashuta rehearsing what had passd between me & the Sachems at Col^o Croghan's thankd me for saying that Peace & friendship was the wish of the People of Virginia (with them) & for recommending it to the Traders to deal with them upon a fair & equitable footing; and then again expressd their desire of having a Trade opend with Virginia, & that the Governor thereof might not only be made acquainted therewith, but of their friendly disposition towards the white People——this I promis'd to do—

Monday 29th/

The tedious ceremony which the Indians observe in their Counselling's & speeches, detain'd us till 9 O'clock——Opposite to the Creek just below w^{ch} we Incampd, is a pretty long bottom, & I believe tolerable wide; but ab^t 8 or 9 Miles below the aforemen^d Creek, & just below a pavement of

⁴⁶ Lee's Creek.

⁴⁷ Pond Creek.

⁴⁸ Shade River?

Rocks⁴⁸ on the West side, comes in a Creek⁴⁹ with fallen Timber at the Mouth, on which the Indians say there is wide bottom's, & good Land. —the River bottom's above for some distance is very good, & continue for near half a Mile below the Creek—the pavement of Rocks⁵⁰ are only to be seen at low Water——ab^t a Mile, or a little better below the Mouth of the creek there is another pavement of Rocks⁵¹ on the East side in a kind of Sedgely Ground——On this Creek many Buffaloes use according to the Indians Acc^t——Six Miles below this comes in a small Creek⁵² on y^e west side at the end of a small naked Island, and just above another pavement of Rocks—this creek comes thro a Bottom of fine Land, & opposite to it (on the East side the River) appears to be a large bottom of very fine Land also——at this place begins what they call the great Bent——5 Miles below this again, on the East side comes in (ab^t 200 y^{ds} above a little stream or Gut) another Creek⁵³; which is just below an Island,⁵⁴ on the upper point of which are some dead standing trees, & a parcel of white bodied Sycamores—In the Mouth of this Creek lyes a Sycamore blown down by the Wind—from hence an East line may be run 3 or 4 Miles; thence a North Line till it strikes the River, which I apprehend woud Include about 3 or 4000 Acres of exceeding valuable Land—at the Mouth of this C^k which is 3 or 4 Miles above two Islands⁵⁵ (at the lower end of the last is a Rapid, & the Point of the Bend) is the Warriors Path to the Cherokee Country—for two Miles & an half below this the River Runs a N^o E^t Course & finishes what they call the Great Bent—two Miles & an half below this again we Incampd——

Tuesday 30th/

We set out at 50 Minutes passed Seven—the

⁴⁸ See Cramer's *Navigator* (1811), 93 for mention of these rocks.

⁴⁹ Buffalo Creek?

⁵⁰ See 48.

⁵¹ See 48.

⁵² Oldtown Creek.

⁵³ Big Mill Creek?

⁵⁴ George's Island?

⁵⁵ Letarts Falls, Islands 44 and 45.

Weather being Windy & Cloudy (after a Night of Rain)——
In about 2 Miles we came to the head of a bottom (in the shape of a horse Shoe) which I judge to be about 6 Miles r^d; the beginning of the bottom appeared to be very good Land, but the lower part (from the Growth) did not seem so friendly——
An East course from the lower end would strike the River again above, about the Begin^g of the bottom

The upper part of the bottom we Incampd in was an exceeding good one, but the lower part rather thin Land & covered with Beach—— in it is some clear Meadow Land and a Pond or Lake——this bottom begins just below the Rapid at the point of the Great Bent, from whence a N NW^t Course would answer to run a parrallel to the next turn of the River

The River from this place narrows very considerably & for 5 or 6 Miles or more is scarcely more than 150 or 200 yards over⁵⁶——The Water yesterday, except the Rapid at the Great Bent, & some swift places about the Islands was quite Dead, & as easily passed one way as the other; the Land in general appeared level & good——About 10 Miles below our Incampment & a little lower down than the bottom described to lye in the shape of a horse Shoe comes in a small Creek on the West side, and opposite to this on the East begins a body of flat Land which the Indians tells us runs quite across the Fork to the Falls in the Kanhawa,⁵⁷ and must at least be 3 days walk across—if so the Flat Land containd therein must be very considerable.——A Mile or two below this we Landed, and after getting a little distance from the River we came (without any rising) to a pretty lively kind of Land grown up with Hick^y & Oaks of different kinds, intermixd with Walnut &c^a here & there——We also found many shallow Ponds, the sides of which abounding in grass, invited innumerable quantities of wild fowl among which I saw a Couple of Birds in size between a Swan & Goose; & in colour some what between the two; being darker than the young Swan and of a more suttly Colour—the

⁵⁶ The Ohio begins to narrow as far up as Big Sandy Creek and Amberson's Island.

⁵⁷ Above Charleston, W. Va. about seventy-five miles up the river.

cry of these was as unusual as the Bird itself, as I never heard any noise resembling it before—Ab^t 5 Miles below this we In-campd in a bottom of Good Land which holds tolerably flat & rich for some distance out—

Wednesday 31st

I sent the Canoe along down to the Junction of the two Rivers ab^t 5 Miles that is the Kanhawa wth the Ohio—and set out upon a hunting Party to view the Land——We steerd nearly East for about 8 or 9 Miles then bore Southwardly, & Westwardly, till we came to our Camp at the confluence of the Rivers⁵⁸——the Land from the Rivers appeared but indifferent, & very broken; whether these ridges might not be those that divide the Waters of the Ohio from the Kanhawa is not certain; but I believe they are——if so the Lands may yet be good—if not, that Which lyes of the River bottoms is good for little

November 1st

A Little before eight Oclock we set of with our Canoe up the River, to discover what kind of Lands lay upon the Kanhawa——The Land on both sides this River just at the Mouth is very fine; but on the East side, when you get towards the Hills (which I judge to be about 6 or 700 yards from the River) it appears to be wet, & better adapted for Meadow than tillage——this bottom continues up the East side for about 2 Miles, & by going up the Ohio a good Tract might be got of bottom Land Including the old Shawna⁵⁹ Town, which is about 3 Miles up the Ohio just above y^e Mouth of a C^k——where the aforementioned bottom ends on the East side the Kanhawa which extends up it at least 50 Miles by y^e Indⁿ Ac^t and of great width (to be ascertained as we come down) in many places very rich; in others somewhat wet & pindy; fit for Meadow; but upon the whole exceeding valuable. as the Land after you get out of the Rich bottom is very good for Grain tho not rich.——We judgd we went up this River about 10

⁵⁸ Point Pleasant, W. Va.

⁵⁹The Shawanese occupied the portion of Ohio lying opposite the Ohio River here.

Miles to day——On the East side appear to be some good bottoms but small—neither long nor wide, & the Hills back of them rather steep & poor—

Nov^r 2^d/

We proceeded up the River with the Canoe about 4 Miles more, & then incampd & went a Hunting; killd 5 Buf-faloes & wounded some others—three deer &c^a——this Country abounds in Buffalo & Wild game of all kinds; as also in all kinds of wild fowl, ther being in the Bottoms a great many small grassy Ponds or Lakes which are full of Swans, Geese, & Ducks of different kinds. —

Some of our People went up the River 4 or 5 Miles higher & found the same kind of bottom on the West side, & we were told by the Indians that it continued to the Falls which they judgd to be 50 or 60 Miles higher up——this Bottom next the Water (in most places) is very rich—as you approach to the Hills you come (in many) to a thin white Oak Land, & poor——the Hills as far as we coud judge were from half a Mile to a Mile from the River; poor & steep in the parts we see; with Pine growing on them—whether they are generally so, or not, we cannot tell but I fear they are——

Saturday 3^d/ We set of down the River on our return homewards, and Incampd at the Mouth; at the Beginning of the Bottom above the junction of the Rivers, and at the Mouth of a branch on the East side,⁶⁰ I markd two Maples, an Elm, & Hoop wood Tree as A Corn^r of the Soldiers L^d (if we can get it) intending to take all the bottom from hence to the Rapids in the Great Bent into one Survey——I also Markd at the Mouth of another Gut lower down on the West side (at the lower end of the long bottom) an Ash and hoopwood for the Beginning of another of the Soldiers Survey to extend up so as to Include all the Bottom (in a body) on the West Side——

In coming from our last Incampment up the Kanhawa I endeavoured to take the courses & distances of the River by a Pocket Compass, & guessing (which I make thus.—— (N by W. 2 Mile—— N NW 1 1/2 D^o N W 1/2 D^o to y^e Mouth of a pretty smart Creek to the Eastward— N^oW. 2 D^o to an-

^a See 73.

other Creek of the same size on the same side—— West $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile—— W NW $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile—— NW^t/ D^o W NW 2 D^o W by N 2 D^o—— NW 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ D^o W NW $\frac{1}{2}$ D^o to the Mouth
Sunday 4/

The Ohio from the Mouth of the Kanhawa runs thus — North 2 Miles — 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ — to the Mouth of a Creek old Shawna Town N^bW 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Miles — N E^t 1 D^o —— N E by E^t 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ N NE^t 4 D^o —— E NE $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile to y^e Mouth of a C^k⁶¹ on the West side, & to the Hills, w^{ch} the Indians say is always a fire to which the Bottom from the Mouth of the Kanhawa continues & then ends—— after passing these Hills (which may run on the River near a Mile) there appears to be another pretty good Bottom on the East side—— At this place we met a Canoe going to the Illinoies with Sheep — and at this place also, that is at the end of the Bottom from the Kanhawa, just as we came to the Hills, we met with a Sycamore ab^t 60 yards from the River of a most extraordinary size it measuring (3 feet from the g^d) 45 feet round, lacking two Inches & not 50 yards from it was another 31.4 round (3 feet from the G^d also)

The 2^d Bottom hinted at the other side (that is the one lying above the Bottom that reaches from the Kanhawa) is that taken notice of the 30th Ult^o to lye in the shape of a Horse Shoe, & must from its situation, & quantity of level Ground be very valuable, if the Land is but tolerably good. —

After passing this bottom & ab^t a Mile of Hills we entered into the 3^d Bottom and Incampd — This bottom reaches within about half a Mile of the Rapid at the point of the Great Bent. —
Monday 5th/

I set of the Canoe with our Baggage & Walkd a cross the Neck⁶² on foot with Captⁿ Crawford distance according to our Walking about 8 Miles as we kept a strait course under the Foot of the Hills which ran about S^o E^t & was two hours & an half walking of it

This is a good Neck of Land the Soil being generally good; & in places very rich — their is a large proportion of Meadow

⁶¹ Campaign Creek?

⁶² "The Big Bent."

Ground, and the Land as high, dry & Level as one could wish — the growth in most places is beach intermixd with Walnut &c^a but more especially with Poplar (of which there are numbers very large) — the Land towards the upper end is black Oak, & very good — upon the whole a valuable Tract might be had here, & I judge the quantity to be about 4000 Acres

After passing this Bottom & the Rapid, as also some Hills w^{ch} jut pretty close to the River, we came to that Bottom before remarkd the 29th Ult^o; which being well describd, there needs no further remark except that the Bottom within view appears to be exceeding rich; but as I was not out upon it, I cannot tell how it is back from the River — a little above this Bottom, we Incampd — the Afternoon being Rainy & night wet —

Tuesday 6th

We left our Incampment a little after day light, & in about 5 Miles we came to Kiashute Hunting Camp which was now removd to the Mouth of that Creek noted Oct^o 29 for having fallen Timber at the Mouth of it, in a bottom of good land — between the Bottom last describd, & this bottom, there is nothing but Hills on the East side; except a little flat of a 100 Acres or so, between — this Bottom thro which the Creek comes may be about 4 or 5 Miles in length & tolerably wide. — grown up pretty much with Beach tho the Soil is good —

By the kindness, and Idle ceremony of the Indians, I was detained at Kiashutas Camp all the remain^g part of this day; and having a good deal of conversation with him on the Subject of Land, He informd me that, it was further from the Mouth of the Great Kanhawa to the Fall of that River than it was between the two Kanhawas — that the Bottom on the West side (which begins near the Mouth of the Kanhawa) continues all the way to the Falls without the Interposition of Hills, and widens as it goes, especially from a pretty large Creek that comes in ab^t 10 or 15 Miles higher up than where we were — that in the Fork there is a body of good Land — and at some pretty considera[ble] distance above this, the River forks again at an Island, & there begin the Reed or Cain to grow — that the Bottoms on the East side of the River are also very good, but

broken with Hills, and that the River is easily passd with Canoes to the Falls w^{ch} cannot be less than 100 Mil but further it is not possible to go with them and that there is but one ridge fr thence to the Settlements upon the [New] River above, that it is possible for a Man to travel; the Country betw[een] being so much broken with steep Hills & precipices

Unfortunately, the picture is now marred because of some kind of an accident which happened to the original manuscript; very likely it fell into the muddy flood-tide which its author described, and as a result the portions of the record from November 6th to November 17th are missing in every reprint extant.

The foot-note in Sparks's *Writings of Washington* relative to the hiatus reads: "For the succeeding ten days, the manuscript journal has been so much injured by accident that it is impossible to transcribe it. The route, however, continued up the Ohio River, which was very much swollen by the rains."⁸⁸

The facts of the case are that the margin of the pages containing the entries for the dates mentioned are slightly mutilated. The meaning of the writer is quite evident in most instances. The record runs:

He further informd (which
seemd to be corroborated by all [of those]
with whom I conversd) that the [land]
Back of the short broken Hills th [in and level]
but down upon the Rivers are
uneven, & not rich, except the [land]
upon Creeks, till you come toward
heads of the Creeks; then the La
grows leveller, and the Soil rich

Wednesday 7th/ We set out
1/2 an hour after Seven and a
ing the Bottom through which

Creek with the Fallen Timber at
the Mouth Runs — & which I believe
is calld Buffalo Creek, we came to a

⁸⁸ Id. II, 529.

range of Hills for a Mile or more in
length upon the River (East side) then
comes in the Bottom opposite to w^{ch}
the Creek below w^{ch} we lodgd at
with the Indians the 28th Ult^o, empties
—— this also appears to be a bottom
f 4 or 5 Miles in length, and tolera[ble]
le good from the River—— when we
[p]ass this Bottom the Hills (rather
[T]aller & flatter than usual) comes
[clo]se to the River (East side for 4 or
miles) then begins another Bottom
above, or opposite to a small
[isla]nd; but before we came to this
mile or two, we passd a good smart
on the East side— this Bottom
opposite to Great Hockhocking
above which, & opposite to Dela[ware]
Hunting Party, we Incampd
[Wedn]sday 8th/

We left our Incamp
as soon as we coud clearly dis
ish the Rocks; and after pas
Bottom which neither ap
to be long, wide nor very
came to a Second Bottom

noticed the 27th Ult^o opposite to a
Creek on the West side calld by the
Indians little hockhocking, but may
easily be distinguished by having a larg
Stone⁴⁴ just at its Mouth (the upper side
—— this bottom is about 7 in length
and appears to be very wide, and go
and must be very valuable if it
not liable to be overflowd, some pa
of it appearing low —— the lower

⁴⁴ Still standing today.

part of this bottom (as was obser
the 27th Ult^o) is opposite to a smal
barren Island with only a few bu[shes]
on it ——— the upper part of it begi[ning]
at much such another place a
side (and part of a pretty long [isl]
and⁸⁵ at a drain or small run tha[t]
comes out of the Hills ——— this is
in a Mile or two of the Mouth
Kanawha, & the next Bottom
except a little narrow slipe
at the foot of the Hills below the

At the Mouth of the Kan[awha]
Captⁿ Crawford, one of the In[dians]
and myself, left the Canoe, in[ten]-
ding to meet it again at the [mouth]
of the Muskingum about 13 M
above, but the Indian by
brought us to the River

Miles below it ——— In this
excursion we passd over various kinds
of Land some tolerable good white
oak Ground level, & meadowey — some
ery Hilly, & broken with stone; and
ome black Oak, thinly timbered but
good for Farming ——— And others ab^t

Mile before we came to the River
which was at a place where there
[wa]s no bottom)⁸⁶ exceeding good, full
el enough & well timbered with
& black Oak; but in all the G^d
passd over to day, & I suppose
coud not have walkd less than
miles there was no Water — this
part of the Land where I thought

⁸⁵ Blennerhassett's Island?

⁸⁶ A mile below Williamstown, W. Va.

Oct^r 27⁶⁷ 30,000 Acres might [be had]
 ; but it does not answer my
 [expe]ctations: how ever by falling [down]
 the River too low, I apprehend
 the worst of it; as we were [on]
 the Ridges that divide the Wa[ters]
 [of] Ohio from the Kenhawa; &
 up, towards the 3 Islands, has
 appearance ———
 [Ju]st below the Mouth of Mus[kingum]
 Incampd.⁶⁸

Friday 9th

The Nigh proving very
 Rainy & Morning wet we did
 set out till 1/2 after 10 O'clock, &
 Incampd by the 3 Islands ———⁶⁹
 Seeing a Bear upon the shore
 we landed, and followed it about
 half a Mile from the Rive^r w[hich]
 gave us an opportunity of s[eeing]
 a little of the Land, which was
 hilly but rich
 Saturday 10th

After a Nig[ht]
 of incessant Thunder & Light-
 ning, attended with heavy
 stant Rain till 11 O'clock t
 day, we set of about Twelve
 (the Rain then ceasing) and [proceeded]
 to the lower end of the long [reach]
 distant about 12 miles ——— [every]
 little stream, imperceptable [to]
 the view in our passage do
 now pouring in her Mite,

⁶⁷ P. —.

⁶⁸ Opposite the suburbs of Marietta, O.

⁶⁹ See 35.

River raising very fast
 grown so muddy as to ren[der]
 Water i^rksome to drink

[Su]nday 11th

The last Night proved
 Night of incessant Rain attended
 ith thunder and lightning ——— the
 [ri]ver by this Morning had raised ab^t
 feet perpendicular and was
 falling fast ——— The Rain seeming
 abate a little and the wind spring[ing]
 up in our favour we were
 [te]mpted to set of; but were deceived [by]
 both; for the Wind soon ceasd, &
 Rain continued without inter[mis-]
 sion till about 4 Oclock, when
 moderated ——— However tho we
 [did] not sit of till Eleven we got
 head of the long reach ab^t
 [mi]les the Rive^r continuing to
 fast, & much choakd with
 Wood ———

[Mon]nday 12th/

There fell a little
 [rain] in the Night tho nothing to [speak]
 of — ab^t Sun rise we left our
 [encam]pment to encounter a very [swift]
 [st]ream which by this time had [risen]
 2 [?] feet perpendicular & running [with]
 grea]t velocity ——— After contending
 whole day we were
 not able to get mo^re than about [5]
 Miles — The Water still rising, a[nd]
 the Curr^t if possible running w[ith]
 more violence, we came to a res[olu]
 tion of ordering our Horses (which

by appointment were to be at [Pitts]⁷⁰
burg the 14th Inst.) to meet us a
Mingo Town—accordingly
Tuesday 13th/

We dispatch
young Indian express to Val[entine]
Crawfo^d who had the charge of
them to proceed on
that place, where we purp[osed]
if possible to get the Canoe
being about 50 Miles below
In pursuance of this resolu[tion]
we Imbarkd again, and with [diffi]
culty got about 5 Miles furth
to the Mouth of the Upp[er] m
broken timber Creek—— In[stead of falling]
of[f] last night the River raisd
perpendicular, and in the n[ight]
with what it rose in the day [it]
must be now 4 or 5 & twenty feet [above]
its usual height, & not a gr^eat [way]
below its banks—— in low pl[aces over]
them——

this day about 3 In the After
[noon] we met two Battoes & a large
[canoe] going (at a very fast rate) to
Illinois with Provisions for the
[ga]rrison at Fort Chartres

Wednesday 14th/

The River began [to
[be] at a stand between Sunset & dark
t night, & continu'd for some
rs so; falling only 2 feet by Sun
[rise]—— about an hour by Sun we [left]
our Incampment and reachd a

⁷⁰ P. —.

above the Captening⁸⁶ (or Fox grape
Creek) about 11 Miles; not finding
water quite so strong as yesterday,
[trav]eling with a little assistant from [the]
wind ——— About 2 or 3 Miles below
[Capte]ning I got out (on the West side)
[wa]kd through a Neck of as good [land]
as ever I saw, between that &
[?]k; the Land on the Hill sides
as rich as the bottoms; than
nothing can exceed ——— the bottom [at]
the Mouth of Captening appears
[of] equal goodness with the one below
[Thu]rsday 15th/

The Canoe set of[f] at
[su]n rise, as I did to view that
opposite to the Mouth
of Pipe Cree — In p[a]ssing
Neck I foun[d] the lower par
not very ri[ch] [u]po[n] the Ri
ve^r towards the Hills, with
well Timberd; and not
only in places — the mid
back of the Rich bottom is
black & white Oak Land [good for
[far]ming, or any purpose w
& intermixd with Meadow
—— the upper end is as rich
quite to the Hills (which a
as I ever saw, but subject
to freshes ——— of this Bottom,
Timbered Land adjoining, I
may be 12 or 1500 Acres got
in this manner — Beginn[ing]
the Hills juts down to the
1/2 a Mile above Pipe Creek
West) & a Mile or more

ⁿ See 26.

of another C^k on the East,
 Bottom above the Capten[ing]
 East side the River, & ju[st where the]
 destruction of Timber oc[curred by a]
 Hurricane of Wind ——— from
 this bottom there is a run
 ab^t a Mile ——— then comes in
 mentiond (which I could g
 on which & up the River
 there appears to be a

rich at
 e is a run [?]
 — the bottom
 is pretty long but narrow[?]
 Creek (on the West side (calld
 Nicholson the 24th Ult^o
 the River having fallen at
 16th

Di^recting the Canoe
 & me at the Mouth of the
 by the Indians split Island
 which I have since found
 s one distinguished by the
 of Redstone &c^a by the
 eling; I set out with Capt
 n foot, to take a view
 a little distance from the
 doing this we ascended Hills
 to be almost impassable,
 the River with stone &
 Timber — back of these
 [fou]und is very uneven, &c^a
 [sma]ll spots, not very good;
 ly well Timberd — as far
 see into the Country the
 his kind ——— Coming on
 [s]plit Island Creek\ some

on the Mouth, we had
nity of observing from
which are very high

Saturday 17th. By this Morning the River had fallen (in the whole) 2 or 3 & twenty feet, & was still lowering —— Ab^t 8 O'clock we set out, & passing the lower cross Creeks we came to a pretty long, & tolerable wide & good bottom on the East side the River; then comes in the Hills, just above which, is Buffalo Creek (a Creek I neither see nor remarkd in going down) upon which, and above it, between y^t & the cross Creeks near the Mingo Town (distant 3 or 4 Miles) is a Bottom of exceeding fine Land, but not very large, unless it extends up the Creek.

About 3 O'clock we came to the Town without seeing our Horses the Indian (which was sent express for them) having passd through only the morning before (being detaind by the Creeks which were too high to ford; without going high up them) —— here we resolvd to wait there arrival which was expected to morrow & here then will end our water Voyage along a River the general course of which from Bever Creek to the Kanhawa is about S W^t (as near as I could determine); but in its winding thro a narrow Vale, extreamely serpentine; forming on both sides the River alternately, Necks of very good (some exceeding fine) Bottoms; lying for the most part in the shape of a half Moon, & of various sizes — there is very little difference in the gen^l width of the River from Fort Pitt to the Kanhawa; but in the depth I believe the odds is considerably in favour of the lower parts; as we found no shallows below the Mingo Town, except in one or two places where the River was broad; & there, I do not know but there might have been a deep Channel in some part of it —— every here and there are Islands, some larger, & some smaller, which operating in the nature of Locks, or steps, occasion pretty still water above but for the most part strong & rapid water along side of them — however there is none of these so swift but that a Vessel may be Rowed or set up with Poles — When the River is in its Natural State, large canoes that will carry 5 or 6000 weight & more, may be workd against stream by 4 hands 20 & 25 Miles a day; & down, a good deal

more — The Indians who are very dexterous (even there women) in the management of Canoes have there Hunting Camp's & Cabins all along the River for the convenience of transporting their Skins by water to Market ——— In the Fall, so soon as the Hunting Season comes on, they set out with their Familys for this purpose; & In Hunting will move there Camps from place to place till by the Spring they get 2 or 300 or more Miles from there Town's; Then Bever catch it in there way up which frequently brings them into the Month of May, when the Women are employd in Plant^s ——— the Men at Market & in Idleness, till the Fall again; when they pursue the same course again ——— during the Summer Months they live a poor & perishing life ———

The Indians who live upon the Ohio (the upper parts of it at least) are composed of Shawnas, Delawares, & some of the Mingos, who getting but little part of the consideration that was given for the Lands Eastward of the Ohio, view the settlement of the People upon this River with an uneasy & jealous Eye; & do not scruple to say that they must be compensated for their Right if the People settle thereon, notwithstanding the Cession of the Six Nations thereto ——— On the other hand, the People from Virginia & elsewhere, are exploring and Marking all the Lands that are valuable not only on Redstone & other Waters of Monongehela but along down the Ohio as low as the little Kanhawa; & by next Summer I suppose will get to the great Kanhawa, at least; how difficult it may be to contend with these People afterwards is easy to be judgd of from every days experience of Lands actually settled, supposing these to be made; than which nothing is more probable if the Indians permit them, from the disposition of the People at present. ——— A few Settlements in the midst of some of the large Bottoms, woud render it impracticable to get any large q^{ty} of Land Together; as the Hills all the way down the River (as low as I went) come pretty close and are steep & broken incapable of settlements tho some of them are rich and only fit to support the Bottoms with Timber and Wood ———

The Land back of the Bottoms, as far as I have been able to judge, either from my own observations or from information, is nearly the same, that is exceeding uneven & Hilly; & I do

presume that there is no body's of Flat rich Land to be found one gets far enough from the River to head the little runs & drains that comes through the Hills; & to the Sources (or near it) of the Creeks & there Branches——this it seems is the case of the Lands upon Monongahela and Yaugh^a & I fancy holds good upon this River till you get into the Flat Lands (or near them) below the Falls——

The Bottom Land differs a good deal in quality——that highest up the River in general is richest; tho the Bottoms are neither so wide or long, as those below——Walnut, H[ickory] Cherry, & some other Woods that grow snarly, & neither Tall nor large, but coverd with Grape Vines (with the Fruit of which this Country at this Instant abounds) are the growth of the richest Bottoms, but on the other hand these Bottoms appear to me to be the lowest and most subject to Floods. Sugar Tree and Ash, mixd with Walnut &^{ca} compose the growth of the next richest low grounds——and Beach Poplar Oaks &^{ca} the last——the Soil of this is also good but inferior to either of the other kinds & beach Bottoms are excepted against on acct of the difficulty of clearing them therc Root's spreading over a large surface of ground & being hard to kill.

Sunday, 18th. Agreed with two Delaware Indians to carry up our Canoe to Fort Pitt for the doing of which I was to pay 6 Dollars & give them a Quart Tinn Can——

Monday 19th The Delawares set of with the Canoe—and our Horses not arriving, the day appeard exceeding long & tedious. Upon conversing with Nicholson, I found he had been two or three times to Fort Chartres at the Illinois, and got from him the following Acct of the Lands between this & that; & upon the Shawna River;⁷² on which he had been a Hunting.

The Lands down the Ohio grow more and more level as you approach the Falls and about 150 Miles below them, the Country appears quite Flat, & exceeding rich,——On the Shawna' River (which comes into the Ohio 400 Miles below the Falls & about 1100 from Pittsburg) up which he had hunted 300 & more Miles the Lands are exceeding Level, rich, & fine, but a good deal intermixed with Cain or Reed, which might

⁷² Cumberland River.

render them difficult to clear; that game of all kinds was to be found here in the greatest abundance, especially Buffalo—— That from Fort Chartres to Pittsburg by Land, is computed 800 Miles; & in travelling thro the Country from that place he found the soil very rich—— the Ground exceeding level to OPost⁷³ (a French Settlement & from Opost to the Lower Shawna Town on Scioto equally flat—— that he passd through large Planes 30 miles in length without a Tree except little Islands of Wood—— that in these Planes thousands & 10,000 of Buffalo may be seen feeding—— That the distance from Fort Chartres to Opost is about 240 Miles & the Country not very well waterd—— from Opost to the lower Shawna Town about 300 more abounding in good Springs & Rivulets—— that the remainder of the way to Fort Pitt is Hilly; and the Hills larger as you approach the Fort tho the L^d in general is also good.

At Fort Pitt I got the distances from place to place down the Ohio as taken by one Mr Hutchins & which are as follows—— w^h some corrections of mine

From Fort Pitt to			Miles
Logs Town		W	18½
Big Bever Creek		W	29¼
Racoon Creek	GW	E	34
Little Bever Creek		W	44
Yellow Creek		W	52
Big Stony Creek	GW	W	66
Mingo Town		W	73
Cross Creeks			74
Buffalo Creek or Sculp C ^k	GW	E	78
Second Cross Creeks	GW		84
Weeling or Split Island C ^k	GW	E	94
Sculp Creek	GW	W	100
Path to Redstone	GW	E	108
Pipe Creek	GW	W	110
Captening	GW	W	113
Cut Creek	GW	E	118
Broken Timber Creek	GW	W	123
2 ^d Broken Timber C ^k	GW	W	125
Muddy Creek	GW	E	134
Begin ^g of ye long reach			137
End of Ditto			155

ⁿ Vincennes, Ind.

			Miles.
Bull Creek	GW	E	160
A Pretty large Ck on ye West			178
Muskingham		W	182
Little Kanhawa		E	195
Little Hockhocking		W	202
Hockhocking		W	210
Creek with fallen Timber at the Mouth		E	230
A smal Creek on the West & beging of ye Great Bent		W	236
Another sm ^l Ck on the East just above a Gut		E	241
Rapid at the point of ye Great Bent			245
Big Kanhawa		E	272
			<hr/>
The distance by Hutchings is			266 $\frac{1}{4}$
Big Guyendot		E	308
Big Sandy Creek,		E	321
Scioto River		W	366
Big Buffalo Lick-A Mile Eastward of the River		W	390
Large Island divided by a gravelly Creek			410 $\frac{1}{2}$
Little Mineamie River River		W	492 $\frac{1}{4}$
Licking Creek		E	500 $\frac{1}{4}$
Great Mineamie River		W	527 $\frac{1}{2}$
Where the Elephants Bones were found		E	560 $\frac{1}{4}$
Kentucke River		E	604 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Falls			682
To where the low Country begins			837 $\frac{3}{4}$
Begins of the 5 Islands			875 $\frac{1}{4}$
Large River on the East side			902 $\frac{1}{4}$
Verry large Islands in the middle of the River			960 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ouabache River			999 $\frac{1}{2}$
Big Rock, & Cave on the West side			1042 $\frac{1}{4}$
Shawano River ⁷⁴			1094
Cherokee River ⁷⁵			1107

⁷⁴ The Cumberland River.⁷⁵ Tennessee River.

	Miles.
Fort Massiac	1118¾
Mouth of Ohio	1164
in all	1164

The Distances from Fort Pitt to the Mouth of the Great Kanhawa as set down agreeable to my own Computation, but from thence to the Mouth of River Ohio are strictly according to Hutchings^a Acc^t which Acc^t I take to be erroneous inasmuch as it appears that the Miles in the upper parts of the River are very long, & those towards the Canhawa short, which I attribute to his setting off in a falling fresh & running slower as they proceeded on.⁷⁶

The letters E and W signifie w^{ch} side of the River the respective Waters come in on, that is, whether on the East or West Side.

Nov^r 20th. About One Oclock our Horses arrivd, having been prevented getting to Fort Pitt by the freshes—— at Two we set out & got about 10 Miles. The Indians travelling along with us.

Tuesday 21st Reach'd Fort Pitt in the Afternoon, distant from our last Incampment about 25 Miles & as near as I can guess 35 from the Mingo Town——

The Land between the Mingo Town & Pittsburg is of different kinds for 4 or 5 Miles after leaving the first mentiond

^a It will be interesting to compare this table of distances with a later table; the one we chose is from *The Western Pilot* of 1829:

Big Beaver Creek.....	28½
Raccoon Cr.	32
Little Beaver Cr.....	43
Wheeling	92
Captina Cr.	112½
Bull Cr.	165
Muskingum	174
Great Kanawha	261½
Big Guyandot	300
Scioto	350½
Great Miami	477½
Cumberland	900
Mouth of the Ohio.....	959

place we passd over Steep Hilly ground, hurt with stone; covered with White Oak; & a thin shallow Soil. This was succeeded by a lively White Oak Land, less broken; & this again by rich Land the growth of which was chiefly white & red Oak, mixd; which lasted with some Intervals of indifferent ridges all the way to Pittsburg.

It was very observable that as we left the River, the Land grew better, which is a confirmation of the Acc^{ts} I had before received, that the good Bodies of Land lay upon the heads of the Runs & Creeks but in all my Travels through this Country, I have seen no large body of Level Land. On the Branches of Racoon Creek there appears to be good Meadow Ground and on Shirtees Creek⁷⁰ (over both which we passed) the Land Looks well. The Country between the Mingo Town and Fort Pitt appears to be well supplied with Springs.

Tuesday 22.

Stayd at Pittsburg all day ——— Invited the Officers & some other Gentlemen to dinner with me at Samples — among which was one Doct^r Connelly (nephew to Col^o Croghan) a very sensible Intelligent Man who had travelled over a good deal of this Western Country both by Land & Water & confirms Nicholsons Acc^t of the good Land on the Shawana River up which he had been near 400 Miles ———

This Country (I mean on the Shawana River) according to Doct^r Connellys Acc^t must be exceeding desirable on many Acc^{ts} ——— the Climate is exceeding fine ——— the Soil remarkably good. the Lands well waterd with good streams & full level enough for any kind of Cultivation ——— Besides these Advantages from Nature, it has others not less Important to a new settlement particularly Game which is so plenty as not only to render the transportation of Provisions there (bread only excepted) altogether unnecessary but to enrich the Adventurers with the Peltry for which there is a constant & good Market.⁷¹

Doct^r Connelly is so much delighted with the Lands, & Climate on this River; that he seems to wish for nothing more

⁷⁰ Chartiers Creek, Pa.

⁷¹ For Dr. Connelly's operations in Kentucky see *Filson Club Publications* No. 7, 31 *seq.*, and No. 8, 26 *seq.*

than to induce 100 families to go there to live that he might be among them.—— A New & most desirable Government might be establishd here to be bounded (according to his Acc^t) by the Ohio Northward & Westward —— The Ridge that divides the Waters of the Tenessee or Cherokee River Southward & Westward & a Line to be Run from the Falls of Ohio, or above so as to cross the Shawana River above the Fork of it.

Doctor Connelly gives much the same Acc^t of the Land between Fort Chartres in the Illinois Country, and Post St. Vincent (OPost) that Nicholson does, except in the Article of Water, wch the Doct^r says is bad & in the Summer Scarce. there being little else than stagnant Water to be met with.

Friday 23^d

After settling with the Indians & People that attended me down the River & defray the sundry Expences accruing at Pittsburg, I set of on my return home and after dining at the Widow Miers' on Turtle Creek reachd Mr John Stephenson) two or three hours in the Night)——

Saturday 24th.

When we came to Stewards Crossing at Crawford's, the River was too high to Ford and his Canoe gone a Drift —— however after waiting there 2 or three hours a Canoe was got in which we passd and Swam our Horses.—— the remainder of this day I spent at Captⁿ Crawford's it either Raining or Snowing hard all day.

Sunday 25th. I set out early in order to see Lund Washington's Land, but the Ground & Trees being coverd with Snow, I was able to form but an indistinct opinion of it —— tho upon the whole it appeard to be a good Tract of Land and as Level as common indeed more so —— from this I went to Tho^s Gists and Dind, & then proceeded on to the Great crossing at Hoglands where I arrivd about Eight Oclock ——

Munday 26th Reachd Killams on George's Creek where we met several Families going over the Mountains to live —— some with^t having any places provided.

The Snow upon the Alligany Mountains was near knee deep.

Tuesday 27th. We got to Col^o Cresaps at the Old Town

after calling at Fort Cumberland & breakfasting with one M^r Innis at the New store opposite. — 25 Miles.

Wednesday 28th. The Old Town Gut was so high as to Wet us in crossing it, and when we came to Cox' the River was Impassable; we were obligd therefore to cross in a Canoe & swim our Horses — At Henry Enochs at the Forks of Cacapehon we dind, & lodgd at Rinkers the distances thus Computed — from the Old Town to Cox^s 8 Miles — from thence to Cacapehon 12 — and 18 afterwards in all 38 Miles — the last 18 I do not think long ones.

Thursday 29th. Set out early & reachd my Brothers by one Oclock (about 22 or 3 Miles). — Doct^r Craik having business by Winchester went that way to meet at Snickers to morrow by 10 Oclock —

Friday 30th. According to Appointment the Doct^r and I met & after Breakfasting at Snickers proceeded on to Wests where we arrivd at or about Sun set.

December

Saturday 1st. Reachd home being absent from it Nine weeks and one day.



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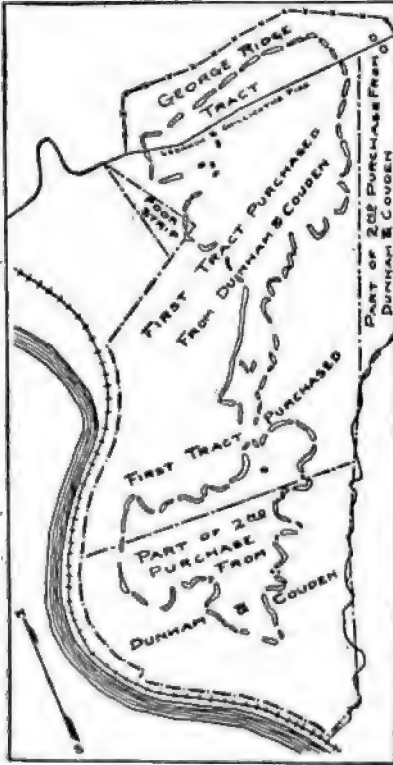
E. Q. Randall

OCTOBER, 1908.

PURCHASE OF FORT ANCIENT.

The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society is to be heartily congratulated over the final accomplishment of its efforts, extending through many years, of securing entire possession of Fort

Ancient. It has been a long and stubborn siege, with many vicissitudes and delays and discouragements, but the last walls of the enclosure have finally been taken and the Society now "holds the fort." It is necessary to repeat some ancient history in order to give a complete account of the purchasing negotiations. From the time of its first organization it has been the desire and the ambition of the Society to have the State become the possessor of this greatest, most complete and famous defensive work of the prehistoric American people. Prof. Warren K. Moorehead was one of the first to recognize and publicly urge the preservation of this fort and its acquisition by the State. His explorations in the years 1888-1891 aided greatly in bringing about the desired result. After the legislature had been importuned during several different sessions, it finally acquiesced in the solicitations of the Society and the first bill was passed April 28, 1890, by the Sixty-ninth General Assembly known



MAP SHOWING SUCCESSIVE PURCHASES OF FORT ANCIENT.

as Senate Bill No. 308, introduced by Senator Jesse N. Oren, "To provide for the preservation of Fort Ancient." This act appropriated the sum of \$7,200, or so much thereof as might be necessary to pur-

chase said property. The bill further provided for the appointment of a committee of five, two by the President of the Senate, two by the Speaker of the House, and one by the Attorney General, which committee was authorized to make the purchase which was to include all, or the most important part of said works, not less than 180 acres in the aggregate, at a price not exceeding forty dollars per acre. The purchase was to be approved by the Governor and the Attorney General; the title to the secured lands was to vest in the State of Ohio and the deed thereof to be duly recorded and deposited with the Auditor of State. Pursuant to this act, the committee of the legislature, accompanied by a committee appointed by the Society, and Mr. Graham, the then Secretary of the Society, visited the property, and a purchase was made from Messrs. Dunham and Couden, the deed of the grantors to the State being properly accepted by the state authorities May 11, 1891. Through this transaction, the State came into possession of the agreed number of acres, viz., 180, at the stipulated price forty dollars per acre, and it was supposed at the time that practically the entire fort had been secured. It was subsequently discovered that the State, either through some error of the committee acting for the State, or of the immediate parties between whom the transfer was perfected, had failed to purchase the entire property of the Fort, but instead that the 180 acres of which the State became possessed embraced only the central portion of the Fort and in addition thereto a strip of land outside the walls, immediately east of the center of the fortifications, leaving unsecured the south end of the Fort, or some two-thirds of what is known as the Old Fort, and also leaving unpurchased the entire north wall, including some twelve acres of land of the New Fort. These escaping portions were known respectively as the Couden and Ridge tracts.

During the adjourned session of the Sixty-ninth General Assembly, Senate Joint Resolution No. 93 was introduced and passed April 24, 1891, by which "the care and control of Fort Ancient was vested in the Board of Trustees of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, who shall hold the lands and property thereon subject to such use as the general assembly may by law direct." In anticipation of such custodianship the Society at its annual meeting, February 19, 1891, appointed a supervisory committee consisting of Senator Jesse N. Oren of Wilmington, Israel Harris of Waynesville and Israel Williams of Hamilton; Colonel Thomas B. Van Horne of Columbus was placed in immediate charge of the Fort under the direction of the above committee.

The Society under appropriations made by the legislature at various times, proceeded to clear and restore portions of the Fort which had been placed under its care, and cultivate such land as was tillable, both within and without the walls. On August 1, 1894, the

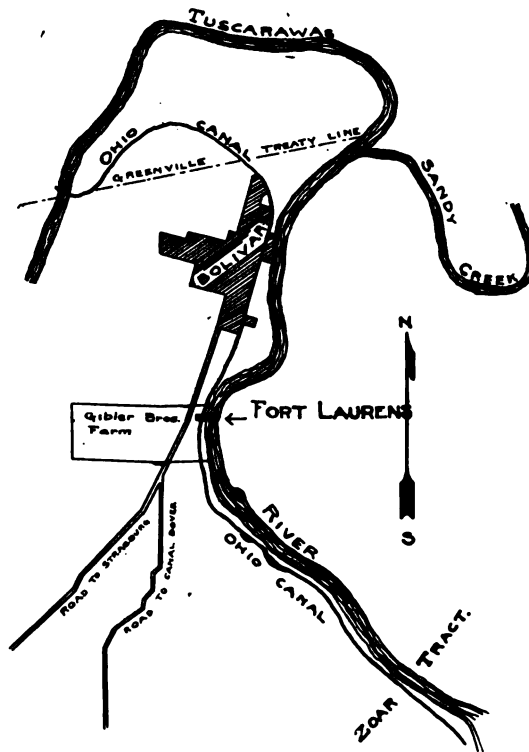
Society employed Mr. Warren Cowen as the Custodian of the Fort and that position he still retains, having proved a most efficient, able and popular official for that place. In the summer of 1895 some \$1,200 was expended in erecting a commodious house for the Custodian. In the late fall of 1895, the Secretary (Randall) secured options upon the unpurchased portions of the Fort, viz: \$900 for the Ridge tract of some twelve acres and \$4,300 for the Couden tract, something over 107 acres. In its appropriation bill of April 16, 1896, the General Assembly granted the Society the sum of \$5,200 for the purchase of these two remaining strips. Upon the attempt by the Secretary, and a committee of the Society, to consummate the purchase from the owners for the portions desired, it was found that the properties could not be obtained at the prices previously named. The heirs controlling the Couden property asked \$5,200 for the 107 acres, or thereabouts, known as the Couden strip, while as to the section at the north end, consisting of some twelve acres, and known as the Ridge property, it had been purchased as was claimed by a corporation for the purpose of erecting thereon a summer hotel, plans for which had been drawn, and advertisement for the sale of lots adjacent to the proposed hotel having been published in various papers. It was an amusing "pipe dream" this hotel scheme—the hostelry was to be a spacious summer resort; an artificial lake in the rear; bands were to play in the area in front while the delighted guests were to promenade the prehistoric walls or make merry in the ample fields within the enclosure. It was to be a unique union of worldly pleasure and archæological delight. The party known as the Fort Ancient Hotel Company demanded three thousand dollars for the property, carrying with it the prospective "privilege" of completing the hotel, the cellar of which had been partly excavated. The securing of the Ridge property on such a basis was, of course, out of the question and negotiations proceeded no further. It was decided however, in accordance with the opinion rendered by the Attorney General, that the State, through the Society, could under the provisions of the appropriation, purchase the Couden tract, expending therefor the total amount appropriated (\$5,200) and leaving the Ridge tract still unbought. This purchase was accordingly made, the abstract and deed for the Couden tract being approved by the proper state authorities and accepted December 5, 1896. This left unpurchased the Ridge tract including the north wall. In addition to this, during negotiations made for the purchase of the Couden tract, it was discovered that there were some two or three acres of land belonging to Mr. Chester Poor, which in a wedge shaped manner extended through the west walls into the enclosure of the North Fort. It was generally designated as the Poor wedge. Thus matters stood undisturbed several years, during which negotiations were attempted at intervals for the purchase of the Poor wedge, and for the Ridge strip, but without avail. Finally in the fall

of 1907, an option was secured by the Secretary and the Fort Ancient Committee of the Society, from the Ridge family for the purchase of the Ridge tract, not only of the twelve acres including the north wall, but some eight acres more, making about twenty in all, for the sum of \$1,800. In the meantime two building lots south of the North wall, and immediately within the Fort inclosure, known respectively as the Ward Hotel site and the Frauenknecht property had been sold by the Ridges. It was understood that these two pieces of property could be purchased for the sum of two hundred dollars apiece. The Seventy-Seventh General Assembly in its appropriation bill passed May 9, 1908, appropriated the sum of \$2,200 "for completion of purchase of Fort Ancient." Thus provided with the funds, a deed to the State of the Ridge tract, some twenty acres, for the sum of \$1,800 was secured by the Society, and accepted by the Attorney General and deposited with the Auditor of State on June 3, 1908. Purchase of the lots within the walls of the North Fort, known as the Ward Hotel site, for the sum of \$300 was completed and the deed received by the Auditor of State, July 30, 1908. A similar purchase, also for the sum of \$300, was made of the Frauenknecht lot, which deed was approved and accepted by the Auditor of State August 5, 1908, making the total purchase of the original Ridge tract \$2,400. The two hundred dollars required in excess of the specific appropriation, was provided from other funds at the disposal of the Society. During the negotiations for the purchase of the Ridge tract, the Poor wedge above mentioned, consisting of some three acres, was also purchased for the sum of \$250 out of funds legally at the disposal of the Society, the deed being approved by the Attorney General of State and accepted by the Auditor of State on January 23, 1908. The total cost to the State, therefore, of Fort Ancient, not including various incidental fees for abstracts, court records, etc., aggregates \$15,050. All of the deeds above mentioned make the State of Ohio, and not the Society, the grantee. The total number of acres of land purchased is about 310, nearly half of which is the area inside the walls. The details of purchases previous to the last, by the Society and the various improvements made on and in the Fort have all been carefully set forth in the published proceedings of the annual meetings of the Society.

And so Fort Ancient is secured and preserved for all time to come — the most valuable and interesting masterpiece of the Mound Builders, representing in size, imposing grandeur, ingenuity in design and perfection of construction, the highest point attained in the earthwork structures of the mysterious lost race.

FORT LAURENS—ITS SITE AND SIEGE.

The relation of the Ohio country and its pre-state pioneers to the events of the American Revolution has not yet been properly portrayed. Until recently leading historians have either ignored it altogether or slightly treated it. It will ere long receive due attention. Roosevelt in "The Winning of the West," Winsor in the "Westward Movement,"



SITE OF FORT LAURENS.

and Moore in "The Northwest Under Three Flags," have given it more or less consideration. During the period of the American Revolution one of the scenes of military importance and romantic interest within the present bounds of Ohio was the site of Fort Laurens, the first fort erected after the Declaration of Independence in the territory of the Buckeye state to be. It will be recalled that the Autumn, Winter and Spring of 1777-8 was the low ebb of the Colonial cause. Howe's vic-

tory at Brandywine gave him the possession of Philadelphia. The encounter at Germantown a month later added to the discomfiture and discouragement of the American army. Washington led his defeated and depleted troops to the banks of the Schuylkill, where they took up their quarters amid the snow and ice of Valley Forge, only twenty miles away from the winter station of Howe. The fate of the new nation seemed doomed. Howe was exultantly awaiting the cheery season of Spring before pouncing upon Washington to annihilate the latter's rag-muffin, remnant army. The Revolution in the East was apparently lost by the united colonies. Then it was that the hope and effort of liberty found a new field in the Ohio country. The scenes were shifted to the trans-Allegheny stage. The extreme western post of the American forces was Fort Pitt, the gateway of the Ohio valley. The western headquarters of the British were at Fort Detroit, commanded by General Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor of the Northwestern region. To him was entrusted the conduct of the war in the West as well as the entire management of frontier affairs. The British authorities realized to the fullest extent the advantage and necessity of retaining possession of this vast territory. They carefully and adroitly fostered the allegiance of the Indians. In the autumn of 1777, Hamilton, called the "hair-buyer," summoned the tribesmen to a council at Detroit and began to send into the Ohio country, bands of savages augmented by Canadian soldiers and commanded by British officers, to plunder and murder the American settlers. It was to be a warfare of bloody and merciless annihilation. He offered standing rewards for scalps, but none for prisoners, hence his title as above. His war parties of painted warriors, infuriated with British whiskey and armed with British weapons spared neither men, women nor children. He wrote Lord Germain, Colonial Secretary in the British Cabinet, "next year (1778) there will be the greatest number of savages on the frontier that has ever been known, as the Six Nations have sent belts around to encourage those allies who have made a general alliance," meaning the western Indians. But Hamilton reckoned without his host. It was in the late Spring of this year 1778—while Washington was just emerging from Valley Forge—that the Washington of the West, George Rogers Clark, started down the Ohio with his little band of Virginia and Pennsylvania volunteers to enter upon that daring expedition through the Illinois country resulting in the taking of the British posts at Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and the retention of the Illinois country by the Colonies. The second siege and capture of Vincennes by Clark was in February, 1779. Meanwhile the frontier war was being waged in the valleys and along the streams of the Ohio country, and while Clark was performing his deeds of patriotism and valor on the banks of the Wabash, stirring events were being enacted on the banks of the Tuscarawas. The Revolution had become a western Indian war.

Almost the very day (July 4, 1778) that Clark made his peaceful and picturesque entry into Kaskaskia, there was perpetrated the horrible massacre of the Connecticut settlers in the Pennsylvania Wyoming valley by a motley force, over a thousand strong and composed of British soldiers, Tory volunteers and Indians—the latter seven hundred in number from the Seneca and Mohawk tribes. Surely Hamilton's promise to Germain was proving no idle boast.

Matters relating to the Indian situation were intensified when in March (1778) Alexander McKee, Mathew Elliott and Simon Girty, the latter the famous Indian interpreter and renegade, deserting the American cause, fled from Fort Pitt, became the active and powerful agents of the British, and proceeded at once to arouse the war spirit of the Ohio Indians. About the same time General Edward Hand, then commandant at Fort Pitt, having been informed that the British had lodged a quantity of army supplies at an Indian town on the Cuyahoga river, formed a project for capturing them. With a company of some five hundred soldiers from Fort Pitt, Hand sallied forth on his expedition. It was a dismal failure. Two respective attacks on the supposed camps of Indians led to the discovery that the savages had evaded him and the expedition ended with no results other than the killing of two or three Indian warriors and several Indian women, which fact gave the expedition the opprobrious title of "the squaw campaign." But events of more pretentious extent were about to transpire. General Hand was, in May, superseded by General Lachlin McIntosh, as Commander at Fort Pitt. The same month the Continental Congress, still assembled at York (Pa.), whither it had fled from Philadelphia on the occupation of the latter by Howe, resolved to raise two regiments to comprise three thousand men, to serve for one year for the protection of the western frontier. These troops were really to form a force to march through the Ohio country and if practicable attack and reduce Fort Detroit. Congress voted over nine hundred thousand dollars to defray the expenses of carrying this war into the enemy's country. The plan was to march fifteen hundred men by way of Kanawha to Fort Randolph, at site of Pt. Pleasant, a like number was to assemble at Fort Pitt and drop down the Ohio to the same point, thence all united move across the country to Detroit. Washington assisted in the perfection of these plans while still at Valley Forge. But it was one thing for the crippled and perplexed Congress to vote men and money—quite another thing to have the intentions executed. The Continental scrip was well nigh worthless, as Washington put it about that time, a wagon load of Continental paper would not buy a wagon load of provisions. Moreover all men that could be pressed into service were needed in the operations east and south. The proposed plan for the destruction of Detroit had to be deferred. The commission sent by Congress to Fort Pitt to supervise measures at that point, now proposed a treaty

be held at the Fort with the Delawares, Shawanese and other Indians. To this council no Indians came "from the wilderness across the Ohio" but the Delawares, who were represented by White Eyes, Captain Pipe, and John Killbuck, Jr. The Shawanese had become openly hostile to the Colonists. The Delawares were generally friendly. General McIntosh now built a road from Fort Pitt to the Beaver river, where just below its mouth, on the right bank of the Ohio, he erected a post with barracks and stores, to which loads could be carried by land or water. This post was furnished with stockade and bastions and defended by six pieces of artillery. It was the first military post erected upon the Indian side of the Ohio. This was early in October (1778). Soon after this alarming intelligence was brought to General McIntosh from the interior west. The hostile Indians in the Ohio and Illinois country were preparing for the war-path and planning to unite in the Tuscarawas valley. McIntosh fearless and ambitious decided to take the aggressive and attempt again his proposed march to Fort Detroit. Early in November he set out, from his post on the Beaver, with a force of about thirteen hundred men—his determined destination being Detroit. He followed the route traveled by Colonel Bouquet (in 1764) and after a toilsome march of fourteen days, reached the banks of the Tuscarawas, some seventy miles west of Fort McIntosh. It was at this point that the army expected to encounter the Indian forces and give them battle; "but only a few Delawares from Coshocton and some Moravian Indians met them and they were friendly." It was here that McIntosh learned that the winter supplies he had expected from the East had not reached Fort McIntosh and hence his base of supplies was unavailing. He was reluctantly compelled to abandon his cherished plan, of reaching and reducing Fort Detroit. That his expedition might not however be entirely without accomplishment, he decided to build upon the Tuscarawas a strong stockade fort and leave as many men as provisions would justify to protect it until the next Spring. Such a military post would at least place a barrier to the further eastern encroachments of the Indians and would be another secure mile-stone in the westward march of the Colonists. The site selected for this post was close to that upon which Colonel Bouquet had erected one in his expedition fourteen years earlier. It was on the west bank of the Tuscarawas, below the mouth of Sandy creek, something more than a mile south of the present village of Bolivar. The usual approach to it from Fort McIntosh was from the mouth of Yellow creek and down the Sandy, which latter stream heads with the former and puts off into the Tuscarawas just above the fort site. The entire force was employed in the erection of the stockade, which was a regular rectangular fortification, enclosing less than an acre of land. This, the first fort erected by Americans within the present state boundaries, was named Fort Laurens in honor of the President of Congress. The fort partially completed, McIntosh leaving a garrison

of one hundred and fifty men, a part of the 13th Virginia regiment, with scanty supplies, under Colonel John Gibson, returned to Fort McIntosh, where the militia under his command were discharged. The McIntosh expedition to Detroit had ended with the erection of Fort Laurens. This it must be remembered, was in the beginning of the winter of 1778-9, one of the severest seasons recorded for many years before or after. The larder of the little plucky band soon ran low. Sorties of detachments of the garrison were made for provisions, amid great perils and privations. In one of these attempted forages under Captain Clark, the four soldiers were killed by the stealthy enemy and in another instance seventeen. Efforts to get provisions to the post from Fort McIntosh were likewise fraught with loss of life and in some instances failed altogether. But the stockade post stood like a little Gibraltar, far from any source of aid and beset by treacherous and almost invisible foes. Simon Girty was employed by the authorities at Detroit to rally and direct the hostile savages in the vicinity of Fort Laurens. The garrison was reduced to a state of uninterrupted siege; the enemy never ceased its vigilance; the provisions were almost entirely exhausted; a quarter of a pound of sour flour and an equal weight of spoiled meat was the daily allowance; the cold was intense and exit from the stockade could not be made for fuel or food, the plucky soldiers suffered from cold and hunger to the verge of life, it was a veritable Valley Forge on the banks of the Tuscarawas. But those were American patriots in that fort and Colonel Gibson, through a soldier who succeeded in stealing past the enemy's lines, sent word to McIntosh, then at Fort Pitt, a statement of the condition of affairs, concluding with these brave words: "You may depend on my defending the fort to the last extremity." It was the end of March (1779). General McIntosh with a force of five hundred men including Pennsylvania militia and Continental troops set out from Fort Pitt for the relief of Gibson. Arriving at the fort, he found the siege abandoned and the savages gone. They had been outstarved and outwitted by the soldiers of the invincible garrison. But they were in a most deplorable condition. For nearly a week their only sustenance had been raw hides and such roots as they could find in the vicinity after the Indians had departed. Leaving about a hundred men of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment under command of Major Frederick Vernon and a supply of food for less than two months, General McIntosh returned to his quarters, and a few weeks later relinquished his command of the western department; Colonel Daniel Brodhead was named by Washington as his successor. The condition of Fort Laurens early engaged the attention of Brodhead. Major Vernon, now in charge of that post, had to undergo an experience similar to that of Colonel Gibson, save that of the intense cold. Scarcely had he taken command when hostile Indians appeared and inaugurated another siege. Foraging soldiers from the fort were ambuscaded. The

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supplies were all but exhausted. In order as far as possible, to save the lives of the garrison soldiers many of them were ordered back to Fort Pitt, until in the latter part of June Major Vernon's force was reduced to twenty-five men, who for ten days lived on herbs, salt and cow-hides. Death was staring them in the face when a detachment of relief under Capt. Robert Beall reached the distressed garrison. The condition of the inmates of the fort was pitiful in the extreme, many of the men from sheer starvation were unable to stand upon their feet. The post was relieved by seventy-five men under command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell. The odds were finally too great for the struggling garrison and in August following an attack and siege by nearly two hundred Indians, mostly Shawanese, Wyandots and Mingoes, supported by a small detachment of British soldiers sent from Detroit, all under command of Lieutenant Henry Bird of the British army, the fort was evacuated by orders of Colonel Brodhead. The stockade was not destroyed but was never again garrisoned. The strength of the Continental army was now engaged in the stormy scenes east of the Allegheny mountains, but the war of the Revolution was strenuously continued in the Ohio country by the backwoodsmen of the Kentucky forests, the Virginia mountains and the valleys of the Miamis and the Scioto. While the dashing Wayne was engaged in his brilliant assault on Stony Point in this summer of 1779, Captain John Bowman, the former companion of George Rogers Clark, was making bold inroads into the heart of the Indian settlements in Ohio. Captain Bowman, with Captain Logan as second in command, enrolled one hundred and sixty Kentucky volunteers, marched from Harrodsburg, crossed the Ohio at the mouth of the Licking and proceeded up the Little Miami Valley to Old Chillicothe, the Indian stronghold of the Shawanese.

The Indian town was burned and much devastation wrought in the land of the redmen, but the expedition was compelled to return leaving the fierce forest warriors in "no degree daunted or crippled." The expedition was not without its effect, however, for it checked in another quarter, the movements of the British and Indians. Captain Henry Bird, following the abandonment of Fort Laurens, had collected two hundred Indians at the Mingo town and was about to start for Kentucky when the news of Bowman's attack on Chillicothe reached Bird's camp. Quickly Bird's Indians dissolved into a panic, many hastening to defend their towns; some even desired to make peace with the Americans.

This meagre recital gives ample proof of the prominent part taken by Fort Laurens in the frontier warfare of the Revolution. The details would fill many an interesting page. Sad to chronicle, nothing remains but its fame to mark the location of Fort Laurens. It was a bright summer day (August 12) that the writer in company with Hon. Daniel J. Ryan and Rev. W. H. Rice, respectively vice president and trustee of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, made a little

journey to the locality of the Fort. Piloted by Prof. G. C. Maurer, Superintendent of Schools at New Philadelphia, we were whisked from that town in an automobile, over a road that wound around the bases of hills and along the banks of streams some ten miles to within a short distance of the village of Bolivar. We were cheerily greeted by Messrs. Valentine Gibler and David Gibler, elderly bachelor brothers who own the fine farm on which the fort once stood. The deserted bed of the Ohio canal and the highway south of Bolivar, at this point, run nearly parallel and only some four hundred feet apart. Back that distance from the road, through the cultivated field, we were shown the exact spot where the stockade walls once stood. The ground upon which the stockade stood is now an undistinguishable portion of a level cultivated field; the exact outline of the walls cannot be designated save by the tenacious memory of the Giblers, who remember in their boyhood days the earthen elevation surmounted by parapet walls made of heavy cut timber—walls once crowned with pickets. Evidences of the bastions at the corners were still to be seen a few years ago. The canal cut through the fort site. It was little less than a sacrilege to sacrifice the fading remnants of the historic ramparts to the ruthless plow. The members of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society will not be content till they have made every possible effort to secure the immediate land upon which stood the memorable little forest-made fortress that played its part in the "brave days of old," when the pioneer patriots to the verge of death withstood the onslaught of the red skinned savage and the red coated Britisher.



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